

MEMOIRS

OF

HYDER AND TIPPOO,

RULERS OF SERINGAPATAM,

WRITTEN IN THE MAHRATTA LANGUAGE.

BY

RAM CHANDRA RAO '*Punganuri*,

WHO WAS LONG IN THEIR EMPLOY.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH AND ILLUSTRATED WITH ANNOTATIONS,

BY

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OF THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE.

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P R E F A C E.

Why add another history to those already written of Hyder and Tippoo? Fifty years ago such a question might have appeared reasonable: but the historians of the present day whether telling the tale of Greece, Rome, or England, have seen the wisdom of going to the fountain head, and testing the documents which a more easy and less critical age accepted without a doubt.

The histories of Hyder and Tippoo have been excellently written by Colonel Wilks, Colonel Kirkpatrick, Major Beatson and some other contemporary officers in the English army: these writers were enemies of Tippoo, and their statements may be contrasted with the Persian Memoir written by Mir Husein Ali Khan KIRMANI: of which Colonel Miles has lately published an English translation. Another Memoir has been printed in Persian at Calcutta in 1848, quarto, 988 pages, under the name *Karnamah Haidari*: the author's name does not appear. This is little more than a compilation from preceding Memoirs published in English or in Persian.

But to this day no English history has appeared translated from accounts written by Hindus. Whether governed by Mahometans or others, the Hindus were sufferers. "*Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.*" And the Hindus are apt, as the following pages shew, to approve the deeds of tyrants. Let those who murmur (John Bull's privilege) regarding the English rule in India, read authentic histories of the Mahometan dominion, or of the earlier Hindu rajas' cruelties, and consider whether the good old times are such as need be regretted.

We shall now see what those times were, even as described by a Hindu historian who was evidently partial to the

----- good old rule the simple plan,
That those should take who have the power
And no man keep that envied crown.

The original is written in the *Mahratta* language: and appears to have been found in *Seringapatam* after the death of Tippoo: it was given in the year 1801 by Lieut. Col. Barry Close, to Major Mackenzie: among whose other manuscripts it now is preserved in the College at Madras. The author makes no mention of himself: but from other sources it appears that his name was Ram Chunder Rao of *Funganoor*: commonly designated "*Purnanori*."

The style of the work is plain and simple even to rudeness. It is thickly strewn with foreign phrases, either Persian or Sanscrit: and the construction is so careless that the same passage may often be translated two or three different ways. The words which I have written in italics, or between brackets, are supplied to complete the sense. The first chapters bear some marks of having been formerly translated into English: but the person who undertook the task was very probably deterred by the ambiguous style. In many passages the facts are merely alluded to, or slightly mentioned: and the full meaning was decyphered only through the medium of English publications, or of contemporary records: some of which are written in *Mahratta*, some in *Canarese*, and a few in *Telugu*, or *Tamil*.

Still the outline is clearly given by the *Mahratta* historian: and I confess that until I met with this volume I had no clear idea of the history of Hyder and Tippoo.

The *Mahratta* original is about to be printed: and at the same time there will probably appear one version written in *Canarese* and another in *Hindustani*.

In spelling proper names, I would willingly have adopted Sir William Jones's method: "*Haidar*, and *T'ipû*, being rulers of *S'ri Ranga Patnam*, on the *Câvéri* in *Maisûr*: conquerors of *Bengilûr* and *Ghut'ti*:" but ordinary readers, for whom this volume is written, prefer the spelling which custom has sanctioned.

MEMOIRS OF
HYDER ALI BAHADUR
AND OF HIS SON
TIPPOO SULTAN,

WRITTEN IN THE MAHRATTA LANGUAGE BY

RAM CHANDRA RAO '*Punganoory*,'

AN OFFICER ATTACHED TO THE TREASURY UNDER THESE PRINCES.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

*'Miserere inopum Sociorum!
Ossa vides regum vacuis exsucta medullis.'*

JUVENAL.

BOOK I.

Comprising Seventeen years. A. D. 1749-1766.

1. The district named Sirch was originally under the dominion of the Moghuls: including Kolhar and other departments. There were in this place two brothers named Patch Naik and Hyder Naik. The district of Sirch was in the hands of Kuradi Mohammad Khan: and when he was expelled, Tahir Khan succeeded him as Commandant. The two brothers entered his service bringing a few spearmen with them. (1)

Then these two were directed to take charge of Kolhar, (2) a fort under Tahir Khan: who soon set out on a circuit: the ruler of Chitradurg had by fraud seized the town of Sirch: but when this was known to Patch Khan and Hyder Naik the rulers of Kolhar they marched with 2000 foot and 500 horse and took the town by storm: on which occasion Patch Naik was wounded with a ball which caused his death. His sons were

named Shahbaz Naik and Hyder Naik, (3) and both of these then quitted Kolhar and went to Great Balapoor which was ruled by Abbas Kulikhan, where they dwell at ease (see Wilks: I. 145.)

2. Hyder Naik then went to Madgiri (a large village near Seringapatam) which had been Patch Naik's residence, and entered the service of the baron Molra: bringing two hundred horse and one thousand foot with him. Then the ruler of Balapoor looking upon Shahbaz (4) Naik and Hyder Naik as monied men, imprisoned them and extorted money and valuables from them. After obtaining their release they went to Dhakkini Fort where they lived in security. Their mother's brother named Ibrahim Sahib was employed

(3) The French anonymous biographer of Hyder (Delatour) asserts that Hyder was born in A. D. 1728 at Doyanahalli but Kirmant says in A. H. 1134 which is A. D. 1721. Stewart in the Memoir prefixed to his Account of Tippoo's Library says "A. H. 1131 which is A. D. 1718". Most probably Kirmant is correct.

(4) In MS. 611 this name is written Shabas Khan and perhaps should be *Shahbaz* Khan.

(1) This occurrence is dated A. H. 1140 that is A. D. 1727. See Forbes's Oriental Memoirs 2. 403
(2) Kolhar about 35 miles east of Bangalore. Buchanan's Mysore I. 277. I usually cite this work as *Fr. Bu. Ha.* for the writer, Francis Buchanan, afterwards took the name Hamilton.

in the Cavalry entertained by Sadulla Khan the ruler (Subadar) of Arcot: he sent for them and gave them some troopers, and introduced them to the ruler who gave them the command of fifty horse. They served him for sometime - then troublous times began (1) and Ibrahim Sahib with Shikhabz Naik and Hyder Naik (2) came to Seringapatam where they were introduced by their uncle Hyder Naik to Deva Raz the *Dalwai* or Minister of Krishna Raz Wadiyar, Raja of Mysore who appointed Hyder a Naik and gave them two hundred horsemen and one thousand foot giving fifty horse and three hundred foot to Ibrahim Sahib.

3. Hyder was employed in his elder brother's troop: which was sent to Bangalore under the orders of Katti (3) Gopal Raz. In the year (A.D. 1749) *Seringa-patam* was ruled by (Khatachuri) (4) Nand Raz (who was the *Dalwai* or Commander) (5) and he sent an army to seize the town of Devanahalli in the Lesser Balapoor. (6) The invaders had

(1) In 1740 the French fleet under La Boudonnais (Clifford iv. 600) bombarded Madras, whence they dislodged the English who had a superior fleet under Commodore Peyton. In this year Duploix became Governor of Pondicherry.

(2) This is the common name of our hero Hyder. It has been asserted (Thornton i. 524) that Hyder's youth gave little indication of future greatness and "for sometime his life was wholly devoted to pleasure. The sports of the field occupied a large portion of his time and the remainder was surrendered to voluptuous enjoyments." It is to be regretted that an Englishman should condescend to make such assertions: which are quite groundless. What little we know of Hyder's youth is altogether to his credit. As for a manly sketch of Hyder's Character see Rennell p. CI note and Bu Hamilt I. 300, 11. 444, 548 and regarding his popularity among brahmins see the same work l. 47.

(3) In Canarese and Telugu names, the family name comes first, and often is the name of a village, or has a signification; here Katti means 'Sword.' The personal name comes next: Gopal; the third word Raz or Razu literally 'King' is equivalent to Esquire: it is used by *Sudras*; Rao being peculiar to Brahmins.

(4) In As. Ann Reg. 1800 p. 6, the family name is written Gorachuri. That memoir is by Colonel Mackenzie. The Kirmani writes it (page 30) Giachoori or Ghajvari. But Persians are very inaccurate in writing Hindu names. A Kannadi (i. e. Canarese) MS. spells it Khatachuri and CARACHOORI NANZA Raj.

(5) Naik, a title like squire, denotes a lord, a Captain but in modern days has become the name of a Sergeant.

Daluvayi, equivalent to Lord High Steward or Seneschal. See Ann Reg. 1783. 'Antiquities,' page 102, 105.

(6) An anonymous Persian chronicler asserts that on the 6th of Sefer in A. H. 1160 (A.D. 1747) Hyder attacked *Bangalore* Ann. Reg. 1800 (Characters page 6.) This error Stewart has copied. It is an error for *Balpoor*; an error quite as gross as writing Kent for Ghent or York for Cork. No siege of Bangalore or of Balapoor is mentioned in Kirmani nor in Punganari nor is any event given in this year. Buch: Hamilton l. 330 says Chica (i. e. Lesser Balapoor which the maps miscall Balabaram. The Raja agreed to pay Hyder 100,000 pagodas (400,000 Rupees) but paid only 60,000.

eight thousand horse and twenty thousand Carnatic militia men. (7) They besieged the town with batteries; wherein Shikhabz Naik and Hyder distinguished themselves so much that the Raja gave each of them fifty horse and two hundred foot and more in addition and Hyder daily rose higher and higher in the Dalwai's favor. The army was engaged against Devanahalli for eight months and at last the town capitulated. Then Hyder accompanied Nand Raz back to Seringapatam.

4. After awhile, in the year Sucha (i. e. 1749) Nawab Nasir Jung marched from Hyderabad accompanied by all the Southern (Paligars) butons he invaded the (Deccan) South country with an army of 100,000 foot 100,000 Carnatic militia, and several hundred cannon. (9) He was on his way to ravage the Arcot country and halted at Madguri on the boundary of Seringapatam.

5. Nawab (Nasir Jung) sent orders to Seringapatam desiring the Raja (the Kattar) to come with his army: the Raja appointed Baki Venkat Rao the General of his troops sending with him five thousand horse, and ten thousand foot. They were accompanied by the two Naiks (meaning Hyder and his brother. The Nabob marched down from the hill country and arrived at Arcot. Here he pitched his camp intending to fight the rulers of Pondicherry (the French) and Hidayat Mohidin Khan and Channu Sahib. At this period Mir Ali Raza Khan's brother the former ruler of Gauram-Conda (10) was at Arcot in distress.

6. Hyder Naik now wedded the elder sister of Mir

(7) Carnataca poyda, Militia, usually with black men or spearmen as distinguished from regular troops.

(8) The birth of Tippoo Sultan is dated in this year by Kurnani and Stewart; A. D. 1719, A. H. 1168. Throughout this memoir the Maratta historians cite the years solely by names, according to the Hindu system: no numerals are given. This method is explained in *Warren*, and more clearly in a volume now in the press, called 'Chronology of Telugu and Canarese History.'

(9) He lies like a Bulletin, says the French proverb. Throughout the Marata and Persian record numbers of men, horses and money are stated with a precision, and a profusion, worthy of Gulliver or Rabelais. On this subject see Wilks I. 191. And No. 76 of 'The Connoisseur' among the 'British Essayists.' Perhaps it may suffice if we believe one half or one quarter of the sums mentioned. In James's Naval history we have been taught how little reliance is to be placed on the arithmetic of Gazettees whether English, French or American.

(10) Gauram Conda, literally means in the Telugu language Horse-hill: it is a well known fort near Punganoor. This name is in various English books wrongly spelt Kurin Goonda, Korum Kunda. I visited this place in 1821. It is about half way between Cuddapah (Kirpah) and Punganoor.

Blaza Khan. (1) The Nabob's troops remained encamped at Arcot for a time and a battle took place at Pondicherry. (2) There was an act of treachery. The baron of Kurnool (named Pathan Kimmah Bahadur Khan) and the Nabob of Cuddapah, named Mochah Khan and (Abdul Karim Khan, baron) of Savanoor (3) three had come into the designs laid by the ruler of Pondicherry the French troops made a night attack on Nasir Jung and Nasir Jung therefore mounted on a elephant, came towards those three Pathans (viz. Kurnool &c.) whereupon Kimmah Bahadur Khan shot him dead with a bullet his head was cut off and mounted on a flag staff. All his army fled, and his wealth and treasury were plundered. (4)

7. This happened in the year Sucla (A. D. 1749) that night the army was scattered on this occasion

(1) This was the second marriage. See Kimmah, page 26. His second wife, mother of Tippoo Sultan, was the daughter of Mir Moia ad Din late Commandant of Cuddapah: her brother was Mir Ali Raja (Stewart 5) Afterwards he married the sister of Makh-dum Saib daughter of the Kazy of Seringapatam. she was the first he was espoused to (Stewart 5)

(2) Always written Phulchery Compere Owen Cambridge, page 11 and Wilks 1 267.

(3) This place is said to be also called Sravanur.

(4) To this day 1817 the name of Kimmah Khan is held in abhorrence for this treason. This name is in the Persian MSS. written Kimmah Khan. Compare curious details of Nasir Jung's murder in Loc. XV. p 181.

In the unprinted Persian Memoirs written by Mahmud son of Nur Ullah Nazim this event is dated "on the night of Tuesday 11 Moharrum A. H. 1161" that is 11th December 1750 old style. Ome confirms this date: This Persian manuscript says, "Nasir Jung was sleeping in his tent. his picture ran in: he rose and mounting his elephant he went forth to visit Kimmah Bahadur who he was persuaded would be his friend. But on saluting him the reply of Kimmah Bahadur was, 'This is the punishment of thy treachery. Nasir Jung drew his bow, but Kimmah Khan fired at him and shot him through breast. An Afghan named Salimi Sufed Dev who was seated at the side of Nasir Jung cut off his head and raised it on the point of a spear.' Thus far the Persian historian."

Sufed Dev the "white Demon" is the well known name of a demon mentioned in the Shah namah and here is probably a mere term of abhorrence being equivalent to Apollyon. In Tippoo's account of the affair (Asiatic Ann Reg 1790 p: 211 of supplement) he names the Afghan as Bahadur Khan and adds that he was soon after slain.

"This battle was fought at A' mur or A' murgad' a place which the French call Ambour.

A French Chronology printed by Mr. Sica at Pondicherry in 1812 says four hundred French troops and 200 sepoys joined the force of Chanda Sahob and of Muzaffar Jung: a decisive battle took place at Ambour about twenty leagues from Arcot. Aiver ad Din and his son Mahfuz Khan confirmed the nomination of Chanda Sahob to the Nabobship of Arcot and then marched to Pondicherry where he was splendidly entertained by Mons. Duplex." Unluckily M. Sica is somewhat of a fabulist.

Hyder Naik obtained as plunder several horses: and cauals of the saecars loaded with treasure: he sent all this to his home at Devanahalli.

8 After the Nabob's (Nasir Jung) death (5) his brothers Salabat Jung and the rest went with all the army to Hydrabad. The (Subadars and Paligars) imons and chieftains of the Decan went to their towns: and the people of Seringapatam also went home.

9. Hyder exhibited his troops before the king of Mysore (6) who now granted him in addition 500 horse, 500 foot, and some (pladeh) lancers: he daily grew in force: he flattered Nanza Raz and gained his favour. (7)

10. Meantime Chanda Sahob had settled the Arcot country: and then marched to Trichinopoly. Mohammad Ali was Commandant of the fort of Trichinopoly which place was besieged by (the 'Phulchery people') the French; whom Chanda Sahob (8 and 9) had summoned. Then Mohammad Ali Khan applied to the (Dalvi) Superintendent at Mysore who agreed to give him aid: on condition the fort of Trichinopoly should be given up to (Nanza Raz) the Superintendent: who therefore marched from Seringapatam with 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot. (10) This was in the year Prajotpa (A.D. 1751.)

(6) This Chanda Sahob is the person often denominated The French Nabob. Regarding his death see Chap. II.

(8) Literally after he became a martyr.

(7) Literally "before the Raz aforesaid;" and we are left to guess whether the author means the Kattar (King) or Nanda Raz.

(8) In Asiatic Ann Reg. 1800 "Characters" page 6, the name given is "Dalwai Garachari Nanda Raz," which is thus written in Persian, but in Mahatta or Canarese it probably is D. N. R. G. Mill 30 writes G. N. R. and spells it Girajvari or Ghachoori "

This Chanda Sahob is the person often called the French Nabob.

(9) "Settled"—bundobust kurna, to settle denotes, to master, conquer, seize. The phrase frequently occurs in this volume. Bundobust Kurna, to regulate or 'settle' a gentle phrase for plundering: the wealth being converted to the use of the state they were dealt with as was proper. Thus in Virginia and Kentucky those who take the law into their own hands call themselves Regulators according to Lynch law. The phrase bundobust kurna frequently occurs in the present volume. It is what Dr. Chalmers meant by 'dealing with' dissenters or opponents. Fraser's Magazine, Oct. 1847, p. 384.

Prior quoted by Johnson says—

Her will alone could settle or revoke

And law was fixed by what she latest spoke.

(10) Wilks 1. 278 say 5000 horses and 10,000 foot.

11. Nanda Raz (1) arrived at Trichinopoly (2) and had an interview with Mohammed Ali Khan: with his aid he routed the army of Chanda Sahib whose head he cut off and set it over the Mysore gate of Seringapatam. This was in the year Angirasa (A.D. 1752) See Wilks I, 284.

12. Then Devaraz and Mandiraz desired Mohammed Ali Khan to yield the fort to him according to his agreement: but this was not done, the Musulman chief acted craftily: he at once verbally yielded the fort, but on admitting the Raja's servant Katti Gopal Raj (another manuscript in the Telugu language says Katti Kam Kaj) this man was at once made a prisoner while the guns of the fort opened upon the army of the Dalwai. This Mohammed Ali Khan fought stoutly. Nandaraz was surprized (3) he assembled his army, and placed his batteries against the fort. Morari Rao (of Ghooti, the ghorparey) and the French officers aided (the troops of the Dalwai). The siege commenced vigorously (4).

13. (Hyder) Naik had always distinguished himself as a good soldier and gained the favour of (Nanda) Raja who promoted him in rank giving him in addition 2000 horse, 5000 foot, 2000 peons (piyada) and 500 of the (tabela) household troops. (5) He thenceforth was considered the most powerful chieftain in the (Seringa) patam army.

14. The siege (of Trichinopoly) lasted one year Srimukh (A.D. 1753) Salabat Jung (brother of the deceased Nasir Jung) marched from Hyderabad to Se-

(1) The Minister's name as given in a Persian Memoir (in As. Ann. Reg. 1800 p. 4.) is Gorashuri Nanda Raz, Dalvai, who adopted Hyder—but more correctly in MS. No. 611 it is written Karachuri Nanda Rajalla: he was the younger brother of Devaraz: and is there called "Nandi Raz of Bangalore" and he was Commandant of the troops, his daughter was married to Krishna Raj Vadayar. Hyder employed Khandehi Rao as his (Diwan) Minister.

(2) Trichinopoly was formerly called Triserapuram. See Local. IX. 83. The usual modern name is Sri-Rangam.

(3) "Nandaraz tasimma ho'oon" which is unintelligible seems intended for 'Sarasimma ho-un' amazed confounded. This chronicler does not mention any English Troops: they however were present, commanded by Clive. Wilks I. 274. 5. While Orme knows little of the presence of Hyder.

(4) At this memorable siege Hyder, Clive, Bussy, and Morari Rao (subsequently such eminent leaders of the Musulmans, French English and Mahiattas) all met: while the respective histories each name only one. Wilks I. 333 copies Orme I. 369 and says Hyder was present at the battle of Trichinopoly 17th August 1754. No authority is mentioned. Neither Kirmani or Punganuri (our author) mentions it nor does Mackenzie (AAR. 1800.)

(5) In the "account of British India" 3 vols. 12mo 1833 published in Edinburgh and written by Captain Clarence Dalrymple and seven other gentlemen is a memoir to which I shall refer by the name "Dalrymple" In this place the total therein given is but 1500 which certainly is erroneous.

ringapatam whereupon Devaraz the Minister of country, wrote to (his brother) Nandi Raz calling him to return from Trichinopoly with his army.

Wherefore they broke up the siege, and Nandir and Hyder Naik returned up the mountains and approached (Seringa) patam. By this time the Mogul (meaning the Hyderabad force) had come to terms with the king and departed. Nandi Raz had suffered much (khush) disgrace (6) and pitched his camp at Nandagonda. Nanda Raz said why should the troops sit idle So he sent them under Hyder's command to Dindigul. (7)

15. (Hyder) Naik made his head quarters at Dindigul, but made various incursions and plundered (8) Palani, Virupaxapuram, Utamapalam; Perik these five places; and in other directions. (9) In some towns he placed his own (thanas) guards and exacted (Khandani) tribute from many (paligars) huior. Thus he collected money and filled up his battalions both of horse and foot: accumulating daily fresh supplies of musquets and cannon.

6. At this time Devaraz at Seringapatam fell out with his younger brother Nandaraz: (10) whereupon Devaraz quitted Seringapatam and went to Sattyamangalam where he remained. Hyder NAWAB (11) heard of this when he was near Palghat as he was marching from Calicut to Dindigul and as there was much plunder to be had in the lands ruled by Achanna and his Nais, (12) he sent his force that direction; ordering them to collect abundant spoil. He sent his (pala) brother-in-law Makidom Sire there with his (diwan) agent Venkat Rao with 200 horse and 5000 foot and cannon. They captured the

(6) Disgrace, because the Moguls had enforced payment and departed. These incidents are more clearly told in Stewart—year 1755.

(7) Wilks I. 340 states this more clearly. It says Nanjeraj halted 25 miles to the south of Seringapatam, to reduce his army in accordance with his reduced means, by discharging one third of his men, an operation which was performed with the utmost difficulty from the necessity of paying them the arrears.

(8) Plundered: literally *Sawari Shicari* riding and fowling—that is predatory excursions.

(9) Only five names are here given. See Wilks I. 32 The record written in Telugu names these places Eddula-naik-palam, Ranna-vadil palam, Sami naipalam, Muni Virupaxa palam.

(10) These two brothers being the ministers or more truly the masters of the king of Mysore. Wilks 352, explains the origin of the quarrel. The two brothers plotted to get rid of the raja. But they could not agree on any plan.

(11) Here this author styles his hero Hyder Nawab anticipating the power he gained in consequence of this quarrel. This return to Dindigul in 1757 is by the English described as a retreat: which seems true.

(12) Wilks I. 360, says Hyder sent this force to succour the Nair raja that is the ruler of Travancore who was engaged in a war against the rajahs of Cochin and Calicut.

town of Palghatsher and fixed the tribute (1) to be levied on it: then they plundered Part of the (Cochin and Calicut) countries and placed guards there. The king of the Nairs was intimidated and agreed to pay twelve lacs of Rupees. This was in the year Isvara (A.D. 1757.) (2)

17. While Hyder lay at Dindigal he was summoned by the Dalwai (Davaraz) to Sattyamangalam. Then the Raja of the Nairs (the Coorgraj) sent a message to the Dalwai saying "release my commanders whom you have taken captive, and recall your troops: then I will pay the twelve lacks of Rupees. The Dalwai therefore sent such a message to Hyder desiring him to draw off his troops. This message he sent by the hands of Nanjunda Sastri the Vakil; who was supported by Hari Sing and some troops. They called on Hyder to withdraw his troops as they would get the money paid. Hyder replied "I have expended much money on my army and stores and warlike acts, request I may first be repaid." To this the Dalwai agreed. (3)

18. Then Hyder obtained a document (tamassuk) to this effect from Waddada Girganna the agent (carbái) of the Dalwai and then recalled his troops. The Dalwai then returned from Sattyamangal to Seringapatam and on the third day after his arrival he died: his death happened on Bahudanya, Jashita Suda 12 (Thursday 15th June 1758.)

19. Nandi Raz now became (mukhtyar) plenipotentiary. (4) The [Nanjunda] "Sastree" who had gone on a embassy to Calicut was dead; and the troops that accompanied him had returned without obtaining a penny (cowry) of the twelve lacks of Rupees promised by the king. When [Hyder] Naik heard of this he began to demand payment from the Raja [according to the bond which he

had taken from Girganna.] [Nandi] Raja undertook to pay the money himself: he therefore wrote a war-want ordering the revenues of (Coyamuttur) Combatoor to be paid to Hyder. (5)

20. Nanda Raz being now supreme at Seringapatam was pestered for pay by the commandants of troops: who beset him grievously. He reckoned up the sums they demanded, and satisfied them partly; either with money, cloths, grain or goods. Then he turned them out of the town and got rid of them. Among them were some troublesome vagabonds whom he stripped of what they had got.

21. Hari Sing [has already been mentioned (see 17) he was a good officer: he had gone to the siege of Calicut and [on being dismissed] he went to Avanasí, and he was about to visit the Raja and the rest. (6) Hyder Naik had long had a quarrel with this man; ever since he had met him at Trichinopoly. He sent [his nephew brother-in-law] Makhdum Sahab [to Avanasí] with 500 horse and 2000 foot to make an assault by night on Hari Sing, smote him, routed his troops, captured 300 horses, took 1000 matchlocks, and 3 cannon with two elephants and got other plunder, all which he brought safe to Seringapatam. He presented 12 or 14 horses one elephant and three cannons to [Nanda] Raja, appropriating the rest of the spoil.

22. The Dalwai after this victory desired him to lodge with his troops outside the town [of Seringapatam.] Daily he swelled the number of his fighting men: and set his own guards at all the four gates of the town, placing his own men as sentinels. Then he gave all the management of the country to his [vakeel] minister Khandi Rao making him supreme [instead of Nandi Raz.]

23. Then Nandi Raz who was all powerful advised the Kartar [or nominal king of Mysore] saying, The realm is yours; rule it as you please. I have nothing to do with it, only I request you to grant me land as a maintenance, and to rule the rest yourself. The Kartar then consulted with [Hyder] Naik, Khandi Rao the vakeel (Agent), and Venkatapati the [Pradhan] chief minister. It was settled that land valued at three lacks [of pagodas should] be granted to [Nanda] Raz; and there was an agreement executed to this effect between the Kartar and [Nanda] Raz.

24. Gopal Hari, a Mahralia chieftain came in the year Bahudanya [A.D. 1758] with 40 or 50,000 horse to the [Serlinga] patam country, where he took

(5) Wilks I. 361 says—The resumed revenues were restored to Hyder, with Saocar securities for three lacks as a reimbursement for extraordinary expenses incurred in the expedition against the raja of Malabar. On these conditions Makhdum Sahb was recalled.

(6) Literally, the dewan Venkatpati.

(1) Tribute. The word is *Khandini*.

(2) Note.—The table printed in Buchanan Hamilton's Mysore vol. 1, page 128, specifies the coins in use at that and a later period: with the values in English money; as follows *Gold coins*. The lion, honan, varaha or Pagoda about eight shillings. The Kantaroy (properly Kanthirava, or "Lion") pagoda and is named after Kanthirava Narasa Rajayadaya of whom we have an inscription dated in SS. 1027, A. D. 1705. In silver coins: the Rupee was rated at a little less than two shillings. (1s ... 10 ... 84 dec. or 0 ... 1 ... 11 ... 05 dec.

(3) In this paragraph it is not easy to determine who is meant by each pronoun: It is supposed that for Raja waghairamacharas we should read ghair-cha. The genitive sign being accidentally omitted.

(4) See Wilks I. 309. This paragraph is in some way incorrect but perhaps I have elicited the intent of the writer. The word Raz, Ranze, Raja is in those pages usually translated "Baron" but the old word king might be used unless likely to give a wrong idea. Adam Smith observes (Wk. III. Chap. 2, p. 11.) "In those disorderly times every great landlord was a sort of petty prince; his tenants were his subjects," &c.

the fort of Maddur Cenapatam : Barki Sri Nivas (1) was stationed by the Kartar, with his troops at Bangalore : this town Gopal Hari besieged but Hyder Naik marched with his army to Cenapatam out of which he beat the Mahratta garrison. On hearing of this the Mahrattas broke up their batteries at Bangalore and set out to attack Cenapatam where they halted. Hyder took 10,000 horse including Nanda Raja's and 8,000 foot and 20 guns with warlike stores ; he took the field and a battle ensued. Hyder made three night attacks on the Mahratta army and seized many of their horse.

25. This war lasted three months and at last the Mahrattas were unable to resist. and came to terms. In the [preceding] year Iswara (1757) the Peshwa had come to Seringapatam and demanded tribute ; which was not paid. The Mahratta took up their position three coss northwards [six miles] off on the bank of the river [near Seringapatam.]

As the money was not paid they seized all the land that lies between Cadur and Banavar and Maddur Cenapatam which they held as a pledge. Then Hyder desired them to quit this country : promising to pay them thirty two lacks of rupees (2) This he persuaded them to do. Then he reported to the Kartar that he had effected this and freed the country by promising to pay 32 lacks.

26. But the Kartar returned for answer by Khandeh Rao that at present he had no money but he promised to collect ten lacks of rupees from his officers and had jewels then in the treasury which would discharge half the demand. Khandeh Rao came to Hyder with the message : and then went to the Mahratta chief : paying him half the sum due and giving him assignments for the residue on various bankers. Thus he freed these districts from the invaders. He then returned with Hyder to Seringapatam. (3) and (4.)

27. The kartar (or king of Mysore by name Krishna Raj Vadayar) and the Dalwai Nanda Raz received Hyder joyfully and in the month Magha in the year Bahudanya [A.D. 1758] these two Rajas bestowed on

(1) ~~Barki Sri-nawas Rao was stationed (by the ruler of Mysore) with his troops at Bangalore. this town Gopal Hari besieged, &c. &c.~~

(2) The author does not say whether this sum was to be paid annually. Stewart (1758) merely says it was the Chout or fourth part of the revenues.

(3.) Wilks I, 372 says, he freed the districts from the invaders on an understanding from all the parties concerned, that Hyder was to have the management of the districts thus liberated : and thus furnish funds for liquidating the balances.

(4.) In 1758 Lally arrived in India. In As. Ann. Reg. IV. 'Characters' p. 27-33 (particularly the note in page 32) his character is given.

Hyder the title " Nawab Hyder Ali Khan : " granting him the princely Insignia, the horse, the elephant, the Naubat [drum] Khilat [robe] and jewels. (5)

28. Five or six months after the kartar and the Queen Dowager (buddhe rānee) and Venenti Patil the (priathani) minister and [Hyder] Bahadur and Khande Rao, all held vain counsel together, and agreed that as long as Nandi Raz remained in town their business could not go on well. This they stated to [Nandi] Raz. who was much displeased. He replied I will not dwell here, settle it as you please and manage your lands as you think best. So saying he quitted [Seringapatam] with his attendants and thousand horse and 3000 foot. He took with him Barki Venent Rao and proceeded to Mysore. Then [Hyder] Bahadur and the [kartar] king appointed Khandeh Rao to govern Seringapatam as supreme.

29. Five or six months after this the kartar sent a message [to Nanda Raz] saying, Lands valued at three lacs of pagodas [per annum] were given to you keep one third [lack] of this and relinquish two thirds [lacks]. Then they sent their troops to sequester these lands. When [Nandeh] Raz heard this he fortified Mysore and collected military stores [to resist this demand.] (6.)

30. But in the year Pramadi [A. D. 1758] the English attacked Pondicherry [Phoolcherry]. Then the French sent a trusty officer of theirs : who came to [Seringa] patam and paid his respects to Hyder, and the Kartar and requested that they would aid the French.

(5.) The memoir in vol. 611 adds "they gave him the title Bahadur. In Kirmani the story is told quite differently : affirming that the title was Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur, Chakmak Jung : and that it was bestowed not by a Hindu Raja but by Basalat Jar. This seems to be a fiction. For Chakmak Jung (the flint of war) is supposed by some Mussulmans to be rather a conversational phrase than a bestowed title and we never find it used as a title by Hyder. The Telugu manuscript adds "And henceforth he was called Bahadur" which title the present historian Ram Chander Rao immediately uses for the first time. In A. A. R. 1800, (page 6 of characters) it is affirmed that after the conquest of Bednore Nagar, the title Nawab Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur was bestowed on him by Nizam ud Dowla, the ruler of Hyderabad. This is utterly groundless. And titles bestowed by Hindus and Musulman chiefs are by Musulmans considered a dishonour : accordingly the Musulmans historians translated by Stewart and Mill are silent as to this transaction. After all I find that the story most generally current is the one given by Wilks I, note in page 3. See the story told by Punganuri Book II Chap. 4. It is stated that Bahadur signifies Pricipal : the pearl of the highest value. This seems to be of fictitious origin. Richardson explains it better as a title equivalent to Right Honorable. Thus far the author has spoken of Hyder as "The Naik" but henceforth his phrase is "the Bahadur" for which I usually substitute "Hyder."

(6.) All this unnoticed in Stewart and in Kirmani.

with troops : and he added many promises. Hyder agreed ; and sent his brother-in-law Makhtum Sahib and his (diwan) minister Venkat Rao with the messenger giving him 3000 horse and 6000 foot and ten cannon - sending them by the Baramahal road (1) This army marched down the hills and seized the lands of Anegal which belonged to the RAYAL. (2)

31. The low counties, Krishnagiri, and the twelve shires (Baramahal) were governed by the Nawab of Cuddapa whose servant Aziz (3) khan with a thousand horse was the ruler. (Magdum) beat him (1) and slew him (Aziz khan) and seized his land - placed proper officers to rule it and then marched to Pondicherry. On their route they took the fort of Tya-garh (5) and placed a garrison there.

32. When the (kartar) king heard at Seringapatam that Nanda Raz was fortifying Mysore he sent a message (in the month-kartik, year Pramadi A. D. 1750) to Hyder saying, "The fort of Mysore is the place of the throne of the kings of (Seringa) patam : and as he (i. e. Nand raj) is now preparing military stores there I desire that you (Hyder) will go with your troops, besiege that place (Mysore) turn him (Nand Raz) out and appoint him to dwell elsewhere. (In this sentence there is some confusion of pronouns).

33. Thereupon Hyder set out with his own troops and the royal forces 4000 cavalry 6000 foot and artillery : he marched to Mysore and besieged the town. But the besieged were in great force ; and the siege was protracted for three months : Hyder's forces were hard pressed : indeed on both sides six thousand men fell. At last the besieged came to terms and [Nandi] Raz was brought out. Out of lands valued at three lacks of pagodas per annum, the lands of Perinpatam &c. valued at one lack were given to [Nandi] Raz ; the residue of the land they took from him : and placed a garrison in the fort of Mysore.

34. Hyder then returned to Seringapatam and stated all he had done ; describing the batteries and entrenchments. But as the Kartar was a child and never had witnessed a battle he wished to see the field of action. Hyder therefore took him to Mysore where he viewed the very places and the batteries ; and being much pleased he promoted Hyder. Then they returned to Seringapatam.

(1) The Baramahal is the country to the East and South of Mysore. See description in Moor's Campaign page 158.

(2) The "Rayals" were the old rulers of Vellore.

(3) "Aziz khan the one eyed" Kirmani page 67.

(4) This is an instance of the odd obscurity of the original record the words are "he slew him" meaning Magdum slew Aziz Khan whereas it might also mean Aziz beat the Nabob of Cuddapah.

(5) In the French volume I. 64 it is written Thiagar. The same book uses "Canero" for Khandoh Rao. Ayder for Hyder ; Sanour for Savanur, Adouls for Adhongo.

35. After four or five months Bini Vissaji Pant came from the Peshwa's Court : he had with him 20,000 horse : and halted on the confines of Devanahalli and Balapur. The force sent to Pondicherry (see chapter 30) had been checked there by the English and did not return.

At this time the mother of Valasher (8) with a view to ruin Hyder laid a plot with Khandoh Rao and Venkatputti the pradhan and other servants (ahli kar) and resolved on asking the aid of Bini Vissaji Pant (7) the Maluatta.

36. They considered saying, Hyder has now with him only 2000 foot and 200 horse ; the rest of his troop are absent being detached at various posts. We shall not again have such an opportunity. If [Hyder] becomes too powerful : all the country will fall into his hands : he certainly will usurp all power. Let us now chastise him and ruin him effectually.

37. After counselling thus they selected some of older members of the family (samasthan) and in month Sravana ~~the~~ year Vierama (A. D. 1750) they turned the guns of the Fort of Seringapatam upon the house wherein Hyder lived without the walls. Hyder was surprised at this assault : he wondered what caused this treachery and said if I continue here I shall be hurt. So he portioned out his goods, jewels and money bags (9) among his followers and sent them away under the care of his uncle Ibrahim Sahib and his [Ibrahim's] son.

38. They set out that night and crossed the river [Cávéri] in a basket [boat]. They travelled in a day and a half to Anekal. There he took additional men [from the garrison]. In the fort of Bangalore there was Kabir Bagh [another officer of Hyder] to whom [Hyder] sent a letter and then proceeded to Bangalore.

39. Meanwhile at Seringapatam Khandoh Rao went next day and sat down [with his troops] at the gate of Hyder's (10) house. At this time Tippee Sultan

(8) "Valasher" denotes the Kartar. It is said that when Krishna Rao Wodiar was a child, the title Valasher was given him by Hyder. It denotes "the noble tiger."

(7) This name is mis-spelt Easaji Deenoo in Miles page 81. In Kirmani, page 71 Col. Miles has written "the seven sunnads" erroneously reading *haft* seven for *muft* free, gratis, as a boon.

(8) Date 12th Aug. 1760. Wilks I. 416.

(9) Khandote a money bag. A word omitted in the Hindi and the Mahratta dictionaries.

(10) Goteh (Mahratta) a camp. A rare word. Kirmani page 94 says that "the kartar delivered Khandoh Rao into the hands of Hyder who put him in a cage and sent him captive to Bangalore." "This is an odd statement, devoid of reason or probability. The dates in Kirmani's volume are *incorrectly* rendered in the A. D. by Colonel Miles. Thus A. H. 1172 is stated to be, A. D. 1758 but in fact is 1762. A. H. 1173 is in page 125 marked A. D. 1758 but should be 1762. The siege of trichinopoly page 34 is marked A. H. 1160 answering to A. D. 1750 but correctly is 1753.

was eight years old. They seated [Tippoo] in a palan-keen and brought him with Hyder's dependants (1) to a house near the mosque inside the fort (of Seringapatam). Here they placed a guard and arranged how daily supplies should be provided (for Tippoo Saib) and the other members of Hyder's family. (2) The (Raja i. e. the) Kartar then seized (Hyder's) elephants, camels, horse, artillery and other stores, and lodged them all (in Seringapatam). (3)

40. After (Hyder) Bahadur arrived at Bangalore, he expected a loan (1) of one lac of pagodas (about 350,000 Rupees) from the merchants and with this he paid his troops and raised additional recruits.

There was one Fath Ullah Khan (son of Mh Mohammed Khan and son-in-law of the Subahdar of Sitch) (see page first of book first: Fath Ullah Khan) was a gallant leader in the service at Kolhar. When Hyder summoned to Bangalore with a view to enlist him: on arrival he was received (by Hyder) with every mark of respect and entertained in Hyder's service on a salary of 2000 Rupees per month in addition to a jagoor worth 10,000 Rupees per annum. (5)

41. Afterwards the ruler (6) of Seringapatam having sent a message to the Mahratta General Bim Vissaji Pant; requesting ten thousand horse; they arrived. They were commanded by a captain named Anand Gopal who arrived (at Seringapatam) the third day after (Hyder) Bahadur (whom they came to seize) had quitted the town. This captain had an interview with the Kartar (i. e. the Raja) and agreed that twelve lacks of Rupees should be paid for his inflicting due punishment on Hyder. He took 4000 foot and 2000 horse from the Raja's household whom (the Kartar) sent along with Ananda Gopal the captain and they marched to join Vissaji Pant at Deonhalli.

42. Meantime the detachment which Hyder had sent under Makhdum Sahib's command (see para 30) to Pondicherry were not able to resist the English who were there in great force. (Makhdum Sahib) therefore left his guns behind him (see Kirmani page 81) with every thing else that he did not

require. He marched all night and (7) reached Tyagada (30 miles WSW of Pondicherry) he displaced the garrison of that place and with all his forces he marched through the hill pass of Jayacota to a place named Anchet (8) and thence went to Hosur.

43. When the Mahrattas heard of this, they surrounded Makhdum Sahib to destroy his troops. The siege continued ten or twelve days. Hyder, who then at Bangalore, on hearing of this took steps to relieve his army. He sent 1000 cavalry and 2000 foot and some guns under the command of Fath-ullah Khan (abovenamed) who marched Nalamangal (9). The Mahrattas heard of this and opposed these troops to prevent the junction. As [Fath-ullah Khan] (10) had but a weak force they were broken and retreated: and being unable to maintain their ground in Nalamangal, they retreated at night to Bangalore losing some of their men who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas.

44. Now Hyder understanding that the Mahratta force was very strong, sent word and asked a truce (11) of Bim Vissaji Pant who at this time received orders from Poonah stating that in Hindustan the Abdaler had rebelled against his highness the Bhao, (12) and recalling him (Vissaji) to Poonah. Therefore Vissaji (13) offered terms to Hyder: and they agreed that Hyder should pay three lakhs of Rupees in coin, and that he should relinquish to the Mahrattas the Kishnagiri and Baramahal districts. The money was paid to Vissaji and the lands in question were given over to him, he placed his garrison in the Kishnagiri and Baramahal districts, and marched home (to Poonah). This happened in the year Vioama (A. D. 1700 S. 1082=A. D. 1171.) The Raja's army then returned to Seringapatam.

45. Hyder's army which was then at Anchet marched to Bangalore. [Hyder] assembled all his forces here: he halted one month in this place: appointed Ibrahim Sahib to command Bangalore. [Hyder] then set out from that place, taking with him nearly three thousand horse and six thousand foot.

(7) A gentle phrase for saying he ran away. The tale is told in Kirmani page 18.

(8) Ancheti - should be Chinchoo, that is, Gajee, more correctly Zanzai, see Kirmani page 66.

(9) According to the English map this village named *Nellamunglum*. A few lines after it is written Kalmangul.

(10) Wilks vol. I. p. 424, calls him Fazl-ullah Khan. He says, "the force he sent was scarcely more than 4000 men with five guns."

(11) It is worth while to compare Kirmani's history, page 80-87, which is written in a dragging style resembling that of Bonaparte after the defeat he suffered.

(12) See in Duff's Mahratta History.

(13) Instead of 'Vissaji' the original says *Pandmurtur*, the aforesaid Pant.

(1) Izh, Permission, dismissal

(2) This tale is told in Kirmani page 76 and 80 but very differently. In page 80 he states that Tippoo was then seven years old. Compare the French memoir t. I. page 61, and Wilks I. 410.

(3) This paragraph is so obscure for want of names (now duly inserted) that at first the meaning was far from easy to discover.

(4) Like the forced loans exacted by Charles I. in England.

(5) See a clearer statement in Wilks I. 422.

(6) Meaning, the Kartar, or Raja. but the author scornfully styles him "Pattan Wala" i. e. the Town-fellow, or City-holder. Wilks I. 424.

he marched from Bangalore and proceeded to (Rai Velu) Vellore, and then marched away to Harpanhalli. He sent a detachment to Salyamangalam under the hills: then he by craft made himself master of this place and of the road through the hill pass. [Wilks 1, 127, gives a clearer account.]

16. Then the Raja (Kartar) being in Seringapatam took counsel; he collected his troops and summoned 2000 Mahratta horse: in all, he had 5000 horse and 6000 foot. Then Khande Rao, with Venkat Patil the (pradhani) premier; and Baki Venkat Rao, with other officers, marched to Nangan guod to encounter Hyder, (1) whose army had come to that place from Harpanhalli. A battle ensued, Hyder's army was defeated and scattered and retreated to Harpanhalli.

17. Nanda Raz was at Kasanala vadi; (2) where Hyder went to him and very humbly entreated pardon for the fault he had committed. Nandhar pardoned him: they were entirely reconciled (3). Hyder said; the Seringapatam forces are now come: I will overthrow them and replace you on the throne and will remain obediently in your service. So saying he bound himself, (to obedience) and then drew up his own troops and those of Nandi Raz (for battle against the Seringapatam troops, (that is, the Mahrattas)

18. News of this reached the ruler of Seringapatam who thereupon came and halted at Mai-mal-vadi. Then Hyder and Nandi Raz took counsel together and addressed royal grants (patwaha) in the Raja's name, to the leading persons and the most esteemed officers in the Kingdom (4) urging them to make a prisoner of Khande Rao, and promising them rewards for so doing. They sent these letters into the army: where they fell into the hands of Khande Rao's guards who were utterly bewildered thereby. (5) Then the minister Venkat Ayya (6) and Baki Venkat Rao said to each other, it is not proper to remain here any longer. So at night they departed.

19. Hyder heard of this and pursued them with his army: the abovesaid chiefs (7) (meaning this minister and Baki Venkat Rao) and others fled (8) to Sering-

apatam; but their infantry, artillery and stores fell into Hyder's hands. This victory greatly increased Hyder's army. (9)

20. Hyder remained there four or five days: he then left Nandi Raz there and carried his army into the neighbourhood of [Seringa] patam where he halted. He immediately made an attack upon Seringapatam, which he entered by the gate (10) where is the bridge built on pillars: there were many horse and foot near the fort and he plundered them all.

21. Khande Rao had sent to Mudu 2000 horse and 2000 foot to keep the low country in check (1) but Hyder seeing that to keep the lowlanders quiet his own presence was necessary, resolved on plundering the said troops and ruining Khande Rao. so he marched down from the hills and seized on Mudu. He was engaged in this for fifteen days until (Vishu Phalguna) A. D. 1761. When he gained the victory he seized on the officer employed by Khande Rao and took the army into his (IZN) hands and took possession (IZN) of all the low countries as far as Dindigul. He appointed his officers to rule the land: he made captives of the local commanders and imprisoned them. Then he drew all his troops together and marched to Seringapatam and took up his camp at Shehr Ganjam.

22. Messages were now sent by the Kartar (3) and by his ministers in Seringapatam, to Hyder: they ordered their own troops to refrain from all attack on Hyder. they also agreed to seize Khande Rao (1) and deliver him to Hyder: also to deliver to him all his realm and his army. The Kartar said give me lands for my own subsistence rated at two lacks of

(9) See Wilks i. regarding the forgery of these letters.

(10) Wilks 1, 431. Says Between the South bridge and the Mysore gate.

(1) The Muslims vanquished the Mahrattas in the north and south of India at the same moment for the battle of Paniput (also called battle of Sirahdalli, see Kirmani, p. 149) was fought on 6th January 1761 (Duff 2. p. 145) Paniput is a petty village on the west of the Jumna about 50 miles north of Delhi. The place is marked in few Maps. The English took Pondicherry on the 15th January 1761. See the details given by Gifford's Hist of France, 4to vol IV 672.

(2) Wilks. I 491.

(3) The Kartar—The original in these passages merely says *The Raja*; which leads to uncertainty. the present page is in the original very hard to understand: the words Kartar, Khande Rao, and Hyder used in this version make the sense intelligible; but in the Mahratta all these are often denoted by the pronoun *he*.

(4) It must be remembered that Khande Rao was Hyder's servant and was now aspiring to ruin Hyder.

(1) The details are given in Wilks 1. 428.

(2) In the next paragraph this town is named Mai-mal-vadi see Wilks. 1 429-430. He spells the name Kutte Malwaddy and places it 26 miles S. W. from Seringapatam.

(3) This passage is obscurely worded.

(4) Literally "Patam so fauj walâ", the chiefs who were at Seringapatam.

(5) Literally Sarâ sima ho-gon.

(6) A brother of his, named Sri Nivas Rao. Baki was tutor to Tippoo. Wilks 2. 150 note.

(7) Literally the abovesaid persons.

(8) Wilks 1. 430 Says the horse escaped and the foot joined the army of the victor.

pagodas (per annum) and you are welcome to the rest. (1)

53. The Kartar then delivered Khandeh Rao into Hyder's hands: Hyder waited on the Kartar; to whom the allotted lands were given over: then Hyder appointed Magdum Sahib Commandant of Seringapatam, giving him a garrison. Hyder seized Khandeh Rao put him in a cage (pinjeh) and imprisoned him in Bangalore. Hyder exacted from Khandeh Rao's servants all the revenue that was due. Then Hyder quitted Seringapatam and went to Bangalore.

54. The Mahrattas were garrisoned in Hosscota and were besieged by Basalat Jung to whom Hyder sent a message offering to pay him three lacks of Rupees accepting in payment the districts of Sireh. (2) A writing to this effect was delivered to Hyder who thereupon garrisoned Sireh which had hitherto been ruled by the Mahrattas. Then Basalat Jung departed to Adhoni. Great Balapoor was ruled by Abbas Kull Khan as his jageer. He had formerly had a quarrel with Hyder; and (when he heard of this arrangement) he decamped to [Maddur] in Great Balapoor. (3)

55. Little Balapoor was held by a Baron (Zamin-dar) who had 12,000 men. He was attacked and his fort was besieged by Hyder: but the baron fortified his place and fought well, and many of Hyder's men were slain. The baron sent to request the aid of Murari Rao [Chorpara, baron of Ghooti] who sent some troops to oppose Hyder. In the year Chittraban (A. D. 1782) Hyder opened his batteries upon that fort, beat off Murari Rao's troops, and took several of his captains prisoners: whom he sent to the fort of Bangalore.

56. The baron (of Little Balapur) then came to terms with Hyder and agreed to pay three lacks of

pagodas (1) he gave [nishan] assignments for money and then Hyder marched with his army to Devanahalli where he pitched his camp. The baron [pallgar, meaning, of Little Balapoor] evacuated his fort with his garrison, and fled to Nandigada where Swami and Narayan Swami (5) were the chiefs: On hearing of this Hyder marched rapidly to Little Balapoor where he reinforced the garrison and then sent his troops to invade Murari Rao, whose troops still occupied the boundaries. These were routed, Murari Rao was defeated; and Hyder seized the villages Kodiconda, Madaksira, Ponagonda, and other places which he garrisoned. Murari Rao could no longer withstand him and fled to Ghooty.

57. Hyder then placed Mir Ali Raza (Khan) to rule the Sireh district, and the lands of Murari Rao and Gurraneonda and all the places held by the Mahrattas. This happened in the year Chittraban (A. D. 1782) Hyder gave him four thousand horse and six thousand foot desiring him to conquer the rest of the Ghooty country and the fort of Nandigada. (6)

58. Then Hyder set out with 12,000 horse, 15,000 foot and artillery: he invaded Chitradung (Chittidroog) Raddurgam, Harpanahalli and other places. These three towns were held by three opulent barons who seeing that Hyder's forces were so great, submitted to him, made terms (Khandahi) and agreed to pay (posheash) tribute at one lack of pagodas per annum: promising that they would give troops and auxiliaries in his army. These three then waited on Hyder and gave assignments (choquah) for the sum they agreed to pay: and brought the troops to serve as auxiliaries.

59. The town of Nagar originally called Bidar was ruled by a prince now lately deceased. The queen his widow (7) selected a boy whom she seated on the throne and the servants of the Government carried on business but their troops were weak and scattered in various places.

60. This was reported to Hyder, who was joined by the three (palegais) chieftains and by the [last w]

(1) Kirmani p. 62 mentions no sum of money. Wilks, I. 483 says the arrangement proposed was that districts valued at three lacs [of pagodas?] should be assigned to the Kartar: that districts valued at one lac should be granted to Nanja Raj. That Hyder should be governor of the remainder of Mysore: and that Khandeh Rao should be delivered to him. Dabry: p. 60 says "Three lacks. Macfarlane: p. 111 says three lacks of rupees per annum.

(2) This may account for Hyder's attacking Sireh on the pretext that he had a right to it. This paragraph is in the original expressed so briefly that the meaning is obscure. Reasoning shows that the sense is here correctly given. Compare p. 77 of the French memoir which confirms my rendering. Also Wilks I., 487.

(3) This town, Maddur Chennapatam is about midway between Seringapatam and Bangalore. Madras (Fort St. George) is usually called Chennapatam or Malapuri Chennapatam. For the sake of distinction I follow the example of Col. Wilks in writing the former name Chennapatam and the latter Madras.

(4) Wilks, I. 445 says "Nine lacks of rupees"

(5) Apparently the writer means that the Balapoor man was named Swami: and perhaps Narayan Swami is his son. Wilks gives no names.

(6) Observe the three conquests viz. 1. Sireh of Sireh; 2. Murari Rao's country; 3. The Mahratta Garrisons, in Gurraneonda, and elsewhere.

(7) Kirmani p. 120 being against the widow's character in this affair, it is well to observe Purnuri's entire silence on the subject. Wilks I. 417 says that Anquetil du Peron tells the story—which appears in Delatour, page 88. Compare Hn. Hani Mysore 3, 127 Asiatic Ann. Register 1800, p. 6. I find the same tale in a Canaresse manuscript, vol. 75. In every narrative the story is very obscure.

adopted by the raja was rival to the one adopted by the queen. Hyder then set out to assault Srirangapatna. On entering the woods near that place his plunderers were scattered in all directions. When he approached to the capital, the queen collected her valuables and set fire to them. Then she made her escape by a postern gate, and, accompanied by a few followers, she went down the hills to Ballal Raja's village, a distance of forty miles distant. This happened in the year Chitrabhanu (A. D. 1702) in the month Margashira. [Note, the Canarese history in vol. 754 dates it Phalguna Bahula Amavasya.]

61. Then Hyder with his army entered into the town of Nagar which was very extensive being three cross broad. It was full of great mansions inhabited by prosperous people who lived at ease, little dreaming what fate and the will of heaven had in store for them. All the citizens fled, leaving their wealth behind them, into the low countries. Then all the army assembled in the place and plundered many people. (1) They set fire to the raja's mansion. Hyder perceived this and caused the flames to be extinguished. All the gold, silver, jewels, cloths, vessels, and other goods found in the town, and in the houses of the public officers, he made over to the (saraffs) money changers.

62. Then guards were set over the towns in the low country, as far as Codial, [Mangalore] Baswa Raj Durg, and the rest: and in the hill country all the places subordinate to Nagar were settled. Hyder raised twenty five thousand men to serve as guards over these places. Then Hyder sent a party to invite the queen to return to her home: he gave her assurances of safe conduct, and brought her into the town.

63. There was a boy named Galbu Raz formerly living in the town of Bidnore; and at first, before the siege began, he came into Hyder's camp: and this man (2) was kept under (IZN permission or order) surveillance. Then, when the town was conquered and the queen was caught, Hyder imprisoned this boy and the queen and her (raja) selected prince: sending all three to the fort at Madgiri. Then Hyder bestowed jewels and costly gifts and salaries on the Dalwai of Srirangapatna and on the more respectable

officers. (3) Next he appointed Venkatappa who was a (Subedar) Captain, to command Bidnore. (4) Then Hyder gave the office of Diwan with the command of Srirangapatna to Venkat Rao of Dindigul, thus he settled (bandobust) the country and ordered the revenues to be paid to (Sarcar) Government.

64. As there was great abundance of gold and silver, Hyder established (dar ul zarb) a Mint at Nagar where in the year Swabhan (A. D. 1703) he coined 'Hyderi huns' (gold pagodas) and (silver) Rupees and fanams: which bore the words 'Zarb-i-Nagar' i. e. 'Coined at Nagar.' (5) At Codial (Mangalore) and Honnavar (Onore) he established workshops for building (jahaz wa ghunjab) ships and brigs: then he purchased some ships of war, and ordered them to be used both for trade and for warlike purposes (See Wilks, I. 454).

65. Thus he passed four months at Nagar (Bidnore); when the rainy season commenced Hyder was somewhat weak in health. At this time he ascertained the fact that the Dalwai and others had committed treachery (fitari) with the better classes, and the surrounding barons. This crime was proved against three hundred men: all of whom he hanged along the road in front of Nagar.

66. Then (Hyder) sent part of his troops with Hybut Jung (6) i. e. Faz-ul-lah Khan to Siddoh (7) The troops having reached that place the baron (of Siddoh) fled with his wife and children with his wealth to Cowlgada where a garrison had already been placed by Hyder and all his wealth (left behind at Siddoh) was seized and appropriated.

67. After settling Nagar (Bidnore) Hyder set out with his troops to Savanur and (Abdul) Hakim Khan (8) who ruled that place, came forth with his troops to give battle: but being unable to stand the shock, he returned to Savanur. (9) Then the ruler of Savanur sent a mes-

(3) Kirmani 130 says the name of this new Commandant was Ujni Kolliar who received the name Raja Ram.

(4) Probably as rewards for their treachery.

(5) Coining money in his own name was the great mark of sovereignty. Hereby Hyder declared himself King, though he never assumed any title higher than those of Bahadar and Khan.

(6) Hybut Jung was a second name of Faz-ul-lah Khan. See Wilks I. 430. There is no previous mention of these names. This whole paragraph is obscure. It is not mentioned in Kirmani, who is also silent regarding the treachery just now spoken of.

(7) In the Canarese MS. vol. 754 the name Siddoh is more correctly written Sodeh which is on the banks of the Toombuddra.

(8) Abdul Hakim Khan is the correct name: as given in Kirmani; and in Wilks, I. 459. Savanur is spelt Shanur in Col. Miles.

(9) "Jang-sa-waqi at na anistan." This is an instance of the style; which is mixed with Persian.

(1) Compare Kirmani 136, 137. He talks of the inhabitants as if they had made resistance.

(2) Wilks I. 447 calls him Chenna Basvaya: perhaps Galbu is from the Canarese *Kalbuda* to desert. "The Deserter." In p. 453 Wilks calls him (wrongly I believe) Chyba Raja or Raja of the Resurrection. A Kannad m. s. confirms the story of Galbu being her lover.

ragas asking terms; and agreed to pay a tribute of (300,000) three lacks of Rupees. This money (1) was delivered to Hyder who then taking Haidar Jang with him marched (north) as far as the river Krishna. Then he plundered the Mahratta country. At the foot of Dharwar he found a Mahratta garrison here, and at Navalgund, at Nargunda Buncapur, Sirhatti, and elsewhere, he placed his troops as guards, and settled the country.

68. When the Peshwa (Regent) Madhava Rao (2) heard of this, he marched with 60,000 horse and artillery (3) he crossed the Krishna and proceeded southwards and prepared for battle. When Hyder heard of this he was on this side (4) of Savanur, with his own army and that of Mir Ali Raza Khan amounting to 20,000 horse, 30,000 (piyada) matchlockmen 20,000 (bah) musqueteers (5) and some artillery. He marched to Kattchalli (near Rancee Bell-nore) where he encamped.

69. The Paishwa was encamped with his army (6) at Dharwar which he besieged for three months; the garrison then capitulated: after taking this place he continued his march against Hyder. On meeting, the cavalry on both sides skirmished daily. One day the entire Mahratta army advanced together and Hyder came forward to meet them: the battle lasted until evening: on both sides thousands of men fell, and horses and cannon were lost: with night full the combat ended.

70. Hyder now considered that the Mahratta army was strong; and that it was not prudent to remain longer on the plain: so he shifted his ground to the woody country at Anavatti. The rainy season now commenced, and the Mahrattas huddled on the plain; daily there was some skirmishing.

71. When the rains terminated, the Mahratta chiefs prepared their forces, and at Anavatti they assaulted (Hyder's) army: on this occasion [Hyder]

lost 6000 foot and 2000 horse, (7) Venant Rattar the (divan) general (of the Mahrattas) with or twenty stout captains were slain (8) and some of the Peshwa's troops were made prisoners by Hyder. This happened in the month Margashira of the year Tama (A.D. 1761) Hyder then marched his army to the (Bell-nore) Nagar country. At this time the Peshwa's army was reinforced (9) by the arrival of twenty thousand horse under the command of uncle Raghunath Rao who came from (their) home (at Poona).

72. Hyder then offered to come to terms which proposed by means of a trustworthy commander. He agreed to pay thirty-two lacks (10) of Rupees (Khandani) an amercement: and this sum he paid the Peshwa who thereupon marched to his own country (Poona).

73. Hyder then dismissed the (paligars) lairds who were in his employ. He himself went to Nagar he sent home Mir Ali Raza Khan who marched to Nandigada where he besieged the fort; and at last the Raja came to terms (11) whereupon [Mir Ali Raza Khan] sent him a prisoner to Bangalore: after awhile he was again sent a prisoner to Coimbatore. (12) This happened in the year Swabhan (A.D. 1763).

74. Hyder remained in quarters at Nagar (Bell-nore) for the four rainy months. Then Chattri Sahib's son Nawab Raza Ali Khan (13) fled from Pondicherry to [Kodiyal] Bunder [Mangalore] (14) whence he took ship and joined Hyder.

[7] Wilks. i. 465 says Hyder lost 3000 horse and six thousand infantry. The Mahratta writer says "he lost," leaving us to guess which leader is meant by the word "he."

(8) Shan literally 'Kamas-alah' came into use, i. e. were used up; or slain. This passage is so loosely worded that it might easily be translated as if Hyder was the loser.

(9) Compare Duff 2. 181 date 1765 where he gives further details. Kirmani mis-represents or conceals the facts; except the terms of pacification which were too notorious to be hidden.

(10) Regarding this sum all the authorities agree. Duff 2. 181.

(11) See paragraph 58. A paligar or poligar petty baron; like those of Bradwardine, Brankston or Monkham; who held a fort in his own right. Formerly Southern India was full of these chiefs; and were free to plunder or slay.

(12) The brother of Hyder's wife.

(13) Thus the occurrences of 1761 and 1763 transposed this is not mentioned in the Wilks.

(14) Throughout this book we find names which may easily be mistaken for one another: the Raza Ali here mentioned (Wilks, i. 470) is different from Ali Raza of the preceding paragraph.

(15) Wilks i. 466. Probably meaning Mangalore which is called "Kodiyal Bunder." The original merely says "Bunder" i. e. the port. Wilks says "Canara."

(1) Wilks i. 460 says the ransom was paid in goods, not in money.

(2) Compared Wilks. i. 461. He says Madhava did not come in person but sent Gopal Rao.

(3) "Thirty thousand horse and about the same number of infantry" is the statement given in Duff's History of the Mahrattas, vol. 2. p. 178. I shall often make references to this accurate historian.

(4) Probably meaning, south of Savanur.

(5) Piyada or *Karnataka bantardtu* denotes matchlock men; who are mere retainers of various petty chiefs; while *Bah* denotes troops in pay, and armed with flint musquets.

(6) Wilks i. p. 462 says that the Mahratta army amounted to 60,000 cavalry, and was to Hyder's army in the proportion of three to one.

He was very kindly welcomed and was honored with a gift of land (Jagir) valued at one lac of Rupees [or annam].

76. Hyder now reviewed all his army; he made a (mangle) roll call of his troops of the line; arranged them (1) as first and second classes. He equipped them in woollen jackets and blue turbans. He raised a corps of two thousand Rajpoots whom he appointed to the swivels (jezail) and camel guns: he added the old Arabian (Arbustan) musical instruments (2) called *tasha* and *marfa* and substituted drums according to the English (Pirangi) mode. He also drilled (drasta) all the cavalry. He then sent Hyder at Jang, with part of the troops, to exact tribute from the lairds (paligars) in the low countries. He also sent his son-in-law Lakh Miha with troops to Basavapattam [about half way from Chittladog towards Ikory].

77. Hyder placed himself at the head of 12,000 musketeers and 10,000 matchlockmen and three thousand horse. He marched down the hills to Codyal [i. e. Mangalore] whence he (3) invaded Malabar [spelt Ma-la-var] He marched by the Nilisavar road to Manu-mur where he had an interview with Ali Raja (4) who gave him a large number of Mapillas (vulgarly Moplas) as a reinforcement. He marched along the seacoast and fought his way through the Byasal territory through Kota Agdi, Kadatanur and other places. (5)

78. The barons of the Nayas (i. e. of Coorgs) opposed him. They were supported by 20 or 25,000 men; but not being accustomed to war and never having beheld a (Mogul) Musulman army they were struck with amazement and horror at the sight: and could not stand their ground. They fled to the hills, woods and thickets; and took shelter: those who encountered the invaders were slain. Hyder captured the above said places erected forts and placed his garrisons therein: he arrived near Calicut [Kallikota] on

[Vyaya Sams Chaitr Sudd Pratipat] 5th September A.D. 1706 (SS, 1788) (6.)

78. The country of Calicut was ruled by Mana Vicrama Raja (7) who tried to make terms with Hyder; offering to visit him, if Hyder would swear (Sapatha) not to injure him. Hyder agreed: and thereupon the raja came, attended by 2,000 Nayas. (8) When the interview took place: [Hyder] presented [the Raja's servants] with pearl necklaces, bracelets: and earrings: Hyder comforted and pacified them, and said, As soon as I arrive in Calicut I will re-establish your house. I required to be repaid the expenses of my army. (9) The king agreed to pay four lacks of Shanari Cass (400,000 Venetian Sequins); see (Wilks I, 475) of which I will at once pay 100,000 and I will remain obedient to your wishes.

79. When this treaty was made Hyder proceeded with the king to Calicut: he placed the king apart, in a large temple. Hyder took up his quarters in a small quadrangular building. After a few days (Hyder) asked (the raja) for (the promised) money. The raja replied saying,---I will call my servants together and provide the money. The money however was not raised: (Hyder) therefore placed a guard and sentries over (the king) and used violent measures to extort the money from the servants. (Wilks, I, 477.)

80. On hearing of this, the king despaired of escaping disgrace: he therefore locked himself into his house, and setting fire to it, he perished in the flames. (10) Hyder heard of this and sent many people to rescue him but it was in vain. Thereupon he imprisoned the king's servants and by severities he extorted various sums. Hyder fortified his own house with towers on which he mounted guns: here he remained one month; and established guards through the country. He appointed a trusty captain (11) to govern Calicut: and placed the revenues in the

(1) Wilks I 557.

(2) The small and great drum; see Kirmani, page 59 where the phrase is *Tambur—marfa—zanin*.

(3) Mohim 'invaded' in Arabic means 'Exploit, enterprise'; but in these memoirs is used for Assault, invasion. Neither sense is in Richardson's Lexicon.

(4) The Calcutta quarto Persian History page 112 says Ali Raja was a son of a rich Mapilla: he was beloved by a daughter of the Raja of Cannanore, who was a Nair by descent and her father bestowed her on him notwithstanding the difference of creed: and the raja when dying left him the kingdom.

(5) "Tynal Samasthan, Kota, Agdi, Kodatanur. The villages do not appear in the maps.

(6) In the same year 1705, Nizam Ali invaded the Carnatic (Wilson's Mill's India p. 452) In 1706 (12th Nov.) Nizam Ali Subadar of Hyderabad made a treaty with the English who assisted him with troops to resist Hyder.

(7) Wilks, I. 473. This is the prince who is often styled the Samorin.

(8) Naimar, the plural of Nair. See Bush, Hamp. Mysore 2, 408.

(9) The conquest of Coorg. See Asiatic An. Reg. 1800 page. "The siege lasted three months and eight days: the fort of Coorg surrendered on 14th Mohurram A. H. 1179 (that is 23d June 1705) "the rajah had previously fled into Malabar." In the same volume, page 25, 28, and in volume I. page 203, there is a sketch of the Coorg dynasty.

(10) French Memoir I. page 110, 112.

(11) Wilks, I. 475 says the garrison was 300 regular infantry.

management of Murpapa Godappa. [Instead of this name the name in Wilks I. 475, is Madana.]

81. The rains now commencing, Hyder marched away by the Ponnani (1) route: by the violence of the rain many of the cavalry &c. perished. He marched rapidly to Palghat where a Collector named Itkach (Itacach) Nair offered him all requisite supplies in abundance. Hyder was so well pleased that he placed the country in [this man's] hands, requiring a (Khandni) tribute of 100,000 Rupees. He then made an agreement with [the baron of] (Kocheh Palah) Cochin: (2) who agreed to pay 40,000 Pagodas yearly: and gave various bankers as his securities.

82. Then Hyder proceeded to Coimbatore (3) and sent out the whole of his army to graze and forage (4) while he remained encamped for two or three months. The Nairs now laid a scheme with their chiefs and raised 20 or 30,000 men who began to plunder various places: they attacked [Hyder's] garrisons (5) where they slew the guards. By reason of the excessive rains every stream was flooded and it was hard to pass from one place to another, or for one man to aid another.

83. On hearing of this, Hyder at once collected his infantry, with the camel guns, and the cavalry (6) halted as they were: he supplied them with provisions for a week, and advancing by rapid marches he sent out his troops and slew the Nairs [literally *saf ksea*, cleaned them away] in every place: those Nairs who fell into his hands were hanged by thousands: (7) he took men women and children, ten or fifteen thousand prisoners: whom he sent by thousands to be captive in various parts of the [Seringa]patam coun-

(1) The name is not clearly legible. The French Memoir says Paniani.

(2) "Kocheh palah:" Wilks, I. 475 says "Cochin and Palghat."

(3) In this year the French Memoir relates the following story. Hyder was informed that his old and faithful servant, Hajeo Mohammad, aged sixty, had seized and carried off a dancing woman's daughter. Also that his chief usher, named Hyder Shah, had refused to listen to the mother's complaint and had failed to report it. Hyder punishes this man with two hundred stripes and sends a messenger who beheads Hajeo Mohammad. There seems to have been no enquiry into the truth of either story.

(4) The Mahratta historian uses rough words: 'sending out troops to graze' is hard to translate with much dignity. But Wilks, I. 475 uses the same phrase.

(5) Hyder's garrisons. The original says "the Sircar thanas" and elsewhere "the Sircar" or Government is used to denote Hyder's army or servants.

(6) "He left all the camp followers behind him."

(7) In Colonel Kirkpatrick's, "Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan, Letter cccxli dated 13th Aug. 1787 Tippoo says, in reference to this occurrence, "Ten

try. The residue filled with dismay fled away, and others humbly submitted and prayed to be spared.

84. Hyder strengthened his rule in every place establishing garrisons to prevent outbreaks. [Then] took steps for building a fort at Palgatcheri. He entered Coimbatore, and rewarded those who had served him well, with bracelets, jewels, and increased salaries. Mohammad Ali Khan's elder brother, Nizam Khan arrived from Hyderabad: he was sent by Hyder Ali Khan to present Hyder with (*mahi maru*) the "Fish banner" (8) and a complimentary *Epist*. Hyder rewarded the bearer with a (*jagour*) territory valued at 100,000 Rs.

While Hyder was at Naggur, he wished to raise troops at Nagpoor and Jagadevaghur: he took *chur* oil (9) with Rang Rao: to whom he gave ten *lacs* of Rupees and sent him to raise recruits.

86. Rang Rao then visited a trustworthy officer who was under the orders of Kasava Raja Bahadur, the (*diwan*) deputy of Bhonsla: and gave him a sum of money: to raise 4000 cavalry: this force arrived at Coimbatore in the year Vyaya [A. D. 1766] and was received by Hyder: who rewarded them with elephants and jewels and other gifts: then he mustered these troops and appointed them respectable salaries. Part of [these] troops he employed, on the spot, Calicut: the remainder he joined to his own army and marched by the Gonhatti pass to Seringapatam where he arrived in the month Magha of the year Vyaya (A. D. 1766). (10)

87. Krishna Raj wodiar King of Seringapatam died [in April 1766. Wilks I. 478.] Six or seven months before his death he had placed his son Nand Raja [Wodiar] on the throne. [Hyder] had an interview with him (11) and presented gifts: then Hyder returned to his army. (12)

years ago, from ten to fifteen thousand men were hung upon the trees [of the Soopa forest in Souda] and since that time these trees have been waiting for more men. You are therefore to hang, upon trees all such inhabitants of that district as have taken lead in these rebellious proceedings."

(8) See Wilks, II. page 2, where details are added. The standard of the fish is among Musulmans the mark of princely rank. It is odd that the incident is not mentioned in Kirmani: he possibly omitted it as thinking it no honour: because it was granted by the Emperor of Constantinople from whom Hyder obtained his throne of Emeralds.

(9) *Masa-ada* favour, assistance: here it is applied to money advanced.

(10) All this is unmentioned by Kirmani (in Wilks).

(11) This passage is obscure from the loose use of pronouns: the sense probably meant is that Hyder presented gifts to the Raja.

(12) Here commences the second invasion by the Mahrattas, as allies of the English. See Wilks, page 17.

MEMOIRS
OF
HYDER ALI BAHADUR
AND OF HIS SON
TIPPOO SULTAN.

BOOK II.

Comprising the last twenty years. A. D. 1748-1766. - 1781.

1. Mir Ali Raza Khan (1) had taken up his lodging at Sirah with 4000 horse and 6000 foot. And the Peshwa Madhava Rao made a sudden march to Sirah bringing seventy or 80,000 horse with him: he arrived in the month Magha in the year Vyaya (A. D. 1766.) A battle ensued: and as [Mir Ali Raza] Khan was off his guard he was beaten (2) and went over to the enemy: thus he was received into the Mah-ratta army at Kolar. (3)

On hearing of this, Hyder sent his entire forces (4) to them in [Madhava Rao] at Kolar: (5) and began to capture his cavalry: Hyder kept his head quarters at Seringapatam where he prepared more infantry and artillery. The Mahratta leader employed Mir [Ali Raza Khan] Sahib (6) in his service: placing him as governor over the lands of Madgiri, Channu Roy Durg, Gurram-conda, and Murari Rao's country: he took all this into his hands, planting garrisons: and [the Peshwa] gave the lands of Gurram-conda as a (jagir) fief to [Mir Ali Raza] Khan. He also placed garrisons in Kollar and Hosseota in the Seringapatam country and Great Balapoor &c.

(1) Wilks say that this man was Hyder's brother-in-law. See note on Section 79. Or is that another man? Here enter the details given in Wilks, 2. 10.

(2) Wilks, II, page 7, 8, and Duff, 2, 181 where are details of Hyder's retreat and ruin which as usual are here left unmentioned.

(3) This is confirmed by Kirmani page 151.

(4) Kirmani says Hyder retired to Seringapatam.

(5) To hem him in. Query does this mean M. A. R. Khan, or the Peshwa?

(6) Mir Sahib is the phrase for Mir Ali Raza Khan. See proofs in Wilks, 2. 10.

Hyder now saw that Mir Sahib [meaning Mir Ali Raza Khan] had fallen into the Peshwa's hands. Hyder therefore came to terms (7) with the Peshwa. By means of Appaji Rao, Vakool he agreed to pay twenty-eight lacks of Rupees to the Peshwa: (8) this sum he paid to the Peshwa's bankers: then the Peshwa made over the fort of Kollar to Hyder: and the forts of Sirah, Madgiri, Great Balapoor, Hosseota &c. were garrisoned by the Peshwa (9) and he then marched his army towards his home [at Poonah.]

The Nizam ul Dowla Bahadar set out (10) with his army [from Hyderabad] and entering the Seringapatam territory he halted at [Maddur] Chonapota. At this time Hyder was told that Nandi Raz (Sarvad-hearl) Head of the state, who commanded the Mysore army had desired the Mahrattas to intercede on his

(7) Wilks, 2. p. 11, 14, gives long details which are here suppressed. He says *thirty-five* lacks were stipulated for: and of this sum half was paid in March 1767. The Peshwa did not depart before receiving the whole sum. Duff, 2. 182 says a Mahratta MS. says "Fifteen lacks of tribute and the expences of the way."

(8) At this place Stewart under the date 1707 by error places the events belonging to the next year representing the Nizam and the English as allies of Madhava Rao?

(9) The numerals vary in all the authorities. Duff, 2. 193 says Madhava Rao levied thirty lacks from Hyder and collected nearly seventeen more from different parts of the Carnatic. The Calcutta Persian volume says (page 188) seven lacks of Rupees in money and various gifts. Kirmani is silent.

(10) Wilks, 2. p. 14. Duff, 2. 183 date 1766. The Nizam, the Mahrattas and the English now attack Hyder.

behalf with the Nizam, [Literally with the Moguls] Hereupon Hyder set out from [Serlinga]patam, went to Mysore and spoke to [Nandi] Raz saying, it is not advisable that you should remain here: your head quarters [Samasthan] being at [Serlinga]patam, it is best that you should come and reside in that fort. (1)

2. Nanda Raz replied, I will come if you will give me assurances of safety and will suffer all my people to remain with me: and will allow me to have all the honors I now enjoy. Hereupon Hyder desired Khaki-Shah Faquir, and Ghaliib Mohammad Khan (who was the brother of Hybut Jung) to tie up a bundle of blank papers in a cloth and to assert that this contained the Koran. (2) Upon this bundle Hyder took his oath: whereupon Nand Raja believed him and came to Seringapatam.

3. On the third day Hyder cast into separate prisons (3) all [Nandi Raj's] followers and clerks and officers: he placed a strict guard over [Nandi] Raj's doors and called on the clerks to pay a certain sum [as ransom] which they paid. If having learnt that some of the captives were kinsmen of the Rajah he gave them employ as Talookdars, on a salary to each of one thousand hoons (4) [per annum?] The guard was continued at Nand Raja's gate.

4. Nizam ud Dowla had taken up his quarters at [Maddur] Chonapatam. The (diwan) minister named Rukn ud Dowla (5) Bahadar; likewise Munawar Khan (the Nabob of Kurnool) and also Raja Chander with other chiefs arrived at [Serlinga] patam: where they were received by Hyder with great splendour and hospitality, bestowing gifts on them. He entered into a strict alliance with Nizam ud Dowla and presented offering of six lacks (6) of rupees to him by his son Tippoo Sultan to Chonapatam to wait on the Nizam: being accompanied by Hybut Jung Raja Ali Khan, Mahfuz Khan and other chiefs, with

their troops: they waited on the Nizam and presented him with horses, elephants, jewels &c. The Nizam received Tippoo Sultan's visit and he bestowed on Tippoo the title (7-8) of "Nawal Patch-Hyder-Ali-Khan-Bahadar." This happened in the month Ashudha, year Sarvajit [that is 24th July A.D. 1767; or A.H. 1181].

5. Hyder requested a positive promise from Nizam Ali Khan. He said the English army has marched to Caveri patnam, and extended their posts to the Seringapatam limits; I propose that your army and mine should punish them, and seize Arcot which should then be put into my (Hyder's) hand.

6. On receiving this reply Tippoo returned to his father, Hyder marched with his army from [Serlinga] patam and accompanied the Nizam to Bangalore thence they proceeded to Caveri-patnam where they attacked the English forces with artillery for five or six days and they beat the English. (9)

They expelled the garrison, depriving them of their arms and horses and placed their own troops to secure it.

7. The English commandant halted with his army about (4 cosa) eight miles from [Caveri] patam. Hyder sent his troops to assault them on all sides, and there were skirmishes wherein some [English] horsemen fell into his hands. (10) The English leader now took counsel, and seeing that their force was weaker they retreated by the Tirunamall route. Hyder pursued them with twenty thousand horse commanded by Rukn ud Dowla who was attached (in ter) to Nizam Ali Khan; he followed at their heels (ta-accub) as far as Chang-mayan-dikk (11). The next day there was a severe fight wherein Hyder lost many men. The English army proceeded as far as Tirunamalie. (12)

8. Hyder passed beyond Tirunamalie and opened the batteries: the fight lasted for a week, the English then sent a reinforcement to the besieged. Then Hyder withdrew his batteries (moreha) and retreated

(1) Wilks, 2. 18. The invasion was frustrated by the bribes which Hyder paid to the Mahrattas. MacFarlane p. 112.

(2) This story is told in Wilks ii. 19, 45. The first man, Khaki Shah, was Hyder's relation and confidential friend: and was soon after slain at his side.

(3) This passage is obscure, but this is probably the import. The story is not in Wilks. Literally 'Lashkar' army.

(4) The hoon is the pagoda, a gold coin worth about three Rupees and a half.

(5) This Rukn ud Dowla is celebrated for cruelty. When Nizam Ali's wives fell into his hands he oppressed them to such a degree that when they entreated the indulgence of having their clothes washed to free them from vermin he thought this too great a favor to grant.

(6) See Wilks 241.

(7) Certainly wrong. The title was bestowed on Tippoo, but on his father.

(8) The import of this is not clear. Wilks i. 37 shows that the father's name was Fatih Hyder.

(9) The English were commanded by Colonel Smith. Hyder attacked them at Errode near Tirunamall on 23d September 1767.

(10) Parao must be rendered seizure, capturing. It seems (Wilks; and Macf: 112, 113) that the Nizam and the Mahrattas were on this occasion league with Hyder and the French, while the English were aided by the Nabob of the Carnatic Mohammed Ali Khan. Regarding the French see Delatour, i. p. 132.

(11) "Changama" Wilks 2. 27. Kirmani pag 249.

(12) Date 17th September 1769. Wilks 2. 26 and 25 Wilks says Hyder lost 2000 men killed and the English only 170 either killed or wounded. [And Regr. Dodsley 1768. p. 101] French Memoir 2. 88-90

three coss (6 miles): and the English halted beyond Pola chiequ dhopte. And Hyder with Nizam Ali Khan's troops came within one coss of them to offer battle.

9. Then Hyder sent his son Tippoo Sultan with ten thousand horse (1) ordering them to go through Arcot as far as Chennapatam (Madras, Fort St. George) and plunder all the country. (2) After four or five days there was a severe battle between Hyder and the English, and many were slain on both sides. At last [Hyder] being unable to stand the attack any longer, both armies [Hyder's and the Nizam's] turned and fled from Tirunamalie by the Seringapatam route to Coimbatore where they encamped for one month. On the day of the battle all the Nizam's Artillery were captured by the English. (3)

10. Hyder never having yet paid a visit to Nizam Ali Khan, now went to wait upon him: who bestowed on Hyder costly gifts, of horses and elephants. Next day Hyder invited the Nizam to his tent: and prepared a [chadustar; error for chabutar] pile of one lack of rupees as a throne for the Nizam to sit on, this he presented to the Nizam and offered him horses and elephants and jewels, and so dismissed him to his home. (4.)

11. Hyder now determined on marching thence by the road of Ammurgada (5) and settled that the Nizam should remain beyond Cavaripatnam, keeping all the (bahir) Camp followers in the rear guard.

12. Hyder now set out with the Diwan [Rukn ud Dowla] and marched his forces to Vanambadi where was an English battalion as (thana) an advanced guard: then he took prisoners, stripped them of their arms and let them go free. At Ammurgada the principal English force was encamped: and Hyder

placed his guns to attack them on two or three sides (dated 10th November 1767. Wilks, 2. 43).

13. Tippoo Sultan returned from plundering the country about Madras (6) and found much difficulty in rejoining Hyder's army, as the battle at Amur fort (Amboor) was beginning. The English had marched to Chenapatam (Madras) and returned with reinforcements: on hearing of this Hyder broke up his batteries and marched to Vanambadi [Wilks, 2. 48] while the English arrived at Amurghur whence they marched to Vanambadi and that day [8th December 1767] a battle took place (7) wherein many fell on both sides.

14. Hyder then marched to Cavaripatam and sent his camp followers up the mountains. He suspected that in their hearts Nizam Ali and the English were firm [friends]: (8) he therefore sent a message to Nizam Ali by Hybut Jung, saying I recommend you to return home [to Hyderabad] and I will either make war or peace (9) with the English, as I think best. (10) [The Nizam] then took leave and marched through Kadapa (Kurpa or Cuddapa).

15. The English army was encamped near Cavaripatam (11) and Hyder resolved on giving them battle. He pitched his tents (pal) for the purpose. At this time the English Commander Colonel [Oot] (12) Wood marched to that place with stores, (rasd) by the Singarpot-pass. And on hearing of his approach Hyder (on the date Sarvajit Margasira May 1768) took a small body of horse (chhari swari) and attacked the English: (13) but as he was not successful Hyder retreated to Teggedl cota (vulgarly Tingricotta) and thence marched to Dharmapuri.

16. The English army left Cavaripatam and on receiving the reinforcement that came by the Singarpot pass, they marched back through that pass. Then Hyder placed at Dharmapuri twelve hundred sepoy, who had woollen coats (kumly coorte) and went on

[1] Ten Thousand. But Wilks says only 5000. The Calcutta Persian volume, page 280 gives no numerals.

[2] The present memoir is more intelligible in the English version because the more usual names of places are used: while in the original the reader is sometimes left to guess which is meant of two places bearing the same name. For instance:—

Chennapatnam	a village near Seringapatam.
Do.	Madras.
Srirangam	Seringapatam.
Do.	Trichinopoly.
Patnam "the Capital"	Seringapatam.
Do.	Madras.

(3) Wilks 2. 43. In p. 40 he says the English lost only 150 killed and 150 wounded. The loss of the enemy was probably 4000 with 64 sixty-four guns, chiefly 18 and 16 pounders.

(4) Such is the phrase: but probably it should be, Hyder took leave of his lord the Nizam.

(5) Wilks, 2, 44. This village is called *Ambour* in the French account.

(6) He deposited his plunder in the fort.

(7) Wilks, 2. 45.

[8.] This passage is obscurely worded.—See Wilks 2. 53.

[9.] His diwan was Rukn ud-Dowla: who also deserted to the English, See Kirmani 263.

[10.] See a clear account in Wilks 2. 52-53.

[11.] Caveri-puram, due west of Pondicherry; and on the banks of the Caveri. There are two rivers of this name. Seringapatam is on the northern Caveri: and the southern Caveri passes Trichinopoly: which is also called Seringam, i. e. Sri Rangam.

[12.] 'Wood.' In Mills 161 and 267 this is written Hewitt. He here mentions "Saul-trees" but the word is *Sala*, avenues.

[13.] Wilks 2. 66.

he abandoned the remaining stores at Kol-laroo, and departed.

32. Hyder afterwards collected these articles and had them conveyed (1) from [Cól-lá-rú] Collar to Bangalore. He halted his troops at Collar for a time and settled the country: he issued pay and allowances (tankha) to his army. Then he took Tippoo Sultan with him and marched from Bangalore to Cuddapah and exacted from Halim Khan (the Subadar commandant of that place) two lacks of Rupees. Thence Hyder marched to Kurnool and exacted three lacks of rupees from Munavvar Khan (Nabob of that place) and proceeded to Gadwal: he exacted tribute &c. from the pategars and [zomhdars] lairds and then he exacted sums from the petty lairds near Gooty.

33. Murari Rao, Gliorpare of Gooty now waited upon Hyder; and presented him horses an elephant &c, and Hyder in return bestowed on him an elephant and a (sir-o-pao) suit of clothes: and parted from him very kindly. (2.) Hyder next visited the laird of Bellary (a town dependant on Adhoni) and desired him to pay tribute: which he refused: Hyder therefore besieged and assaulted his fort: but failed of taking it. Hyder therefore accepted his promises to pay tribute, and marched to Madag Matur.

34. In the year Virodhi³ (3) (A.D. 1769) Madhava Rao the Peshwa invaded the country of Seringapatam with 60 or 70,000 horsemen. On hearing of this Hyder proceeded by the road of Turkori to Seringapatam with a small force leaving Tippoo and Mirsahib (4) to remain at Kahik-bandu to watch around the Mahrattas; whom he ordered them to attack.

35. The Peshwa marched to the (gurb) forts on the limits of Kadur and Banavar and he placed detachments at these places, at Great Balapoor, Naudigarh, Colar (5) and other places. Then he marched to Nizgal. He swept the country clean (taraz-kiya). At Nizgal there was one Sardar Khan who had three thousand 'youngmen' (jawan). The Peshwa besieged his fort and many of the besiegers fell. The Peshwa's younger brother Narayan Rao was wounded by a ball while in a battery. When the Peshwa Madhava Rao heard of this he assembled all his forces

and took the hill fort by storm [date 1st May 1770 according to Wilks, 2. 137.]

36. He liberated those who were wounded: but he cut off the ears of all the rest and let them go. He took Sardar Khan (6) prisoner. As [Narayan] Rao was wounded Hyder sent him no message to request peace. (7.)

37. The Peshwa therefore sent [Tryambac Rao] Mama (8) to remain in (ch habni) garrison at Gurramconda with thirty or forty thousand horse. Then the Peshwa and his brother marched away. When the rainy season ended [Tryambac Rao] Mama surrounded the fort at Gurramconda. In this fort was Syed Sahib, nephew (bhatija) [to Mir Sahib.] But after a siege of three months (9.) they came to terms by means of [Morari] Rao. The fort was surrendered with the Gurramconda country around it.

38. [Hyder,] at Seringapatam heard of this and immediately collected his forces he prepared warlike stores and was about to set forth. At that time [Tryambac] Mama set forth from Gurramconda and marched to Balapoor (10) (Wilks, 2. 138.) A detachment from the Bangalore division of Hyder's army was sent to Balapoor: where it arrived: and while it was encamped there it was suddenly destroyed by Tryambac Mama's forces. Then Tryambac marched to Hutteri Droog.

39. Hyder then marched from [Seringa] patam and went to the town of Magadi with 12,000 horse 15,000 foot 10,000 militia (11) [lit. Karnatic pindas] and forty guns. He arrived there in the month Magha of the year Virodhi (12) (A. D. 1769). Then the Mahratta [army] turned to [march towards Mad-duri] Channapatnam, and so passed on to Melcota. The baggage was pursued by Hyder's horsemen who slew some [of the Mahrattas] and took some of them prisoners. At Melcota one or two battles took place. Then Hyder thought it best to remain there no longer: so he set out by night and marched rapidly towards Seringapatam. (13) When the Mahrattas heard of this they pursued Hyder with their whole force and

(6) Wilks, 2, 136 says he was taken prisoner but was released.

(7) Literally was punished (tanbih). It appears that the peshwa had marched down to exact money from Hyder: who was relieved from the application by the peshwa changing his mind in consequence of illness.

(8) "Three months" Wilks, 2. 138.

(9) This is the name which more usually is written Trimbuck.

(10) All this passage is loosely worded—we can scarcely divine the sense.

(11) All these numbers agree with those stated by Wilks, 2. 138.

(12) Virodhi which is here again wrongly written (as above.)

(13) Wilks 2. 138 give a very different account.

(1) Wilks is silent regarding these occurrences.

(2) Kirmani p. 297 says Adhoni was commanded by Baslut Jung. See Wilks 2. 131.

(3) The original says, Virodhierit, which would be A.D. 1791 and must be a clerical error for Virodhi 1769.

(4) Mir Sahib was Hyder's brother-in-law. See Kirmani 280. Wilks 2. 132.

(5) See Duff 2, 211. Wilks 2, 136 A.D. 1770 but Kirmani omits all these events and (page 299) represents the Mahratta chief as retreating at once to Mirich.



eng. Tipp with him near Tonnur (1) where they by Paid him in [5th March 1771. See Wilks, 2. 140 and 141.]

40. Here a running fight took place with musket and cannon, for two or three days. Out of about ten or five thousand Mahratta horsemen four or five chiefs fell. Triambac Mama too was wounded by a bullet. Then [the Mahrattas] made a charge of twenty or twenty-five thousand horse at once near Chiracurhorli (2) where Hyder's entire army was beaten, and many chiefs fell. Among these was Gholam Ali Khan, general of the cavalry; and Ali Zaman Khan, and Mir Ali Raza Khan and other noble leaders. These fell (3) into the hands of the Mahrattas; while Narayan Rao of the Infantry and Lala Mian (Hyder's son-in-law) were done for. [i.e. were killed] (Wilks, 2. 144). (4)

41. [Hyder] retreated to Seringapatam: accompanied by Hyder Jung and Tippoo Sultan, with Barki Sri Nivas Rao and others having with him twelve or three thousand horse and two or three thousand foot; leaving behind him his camp and artillery, cattle and stores, all of which fell into the hands of the Mahrattas. After being thus worsted Hyder rallied his troops, and distributed among them money, clothing and arms: in eight days he was provided with four thousand horse eight thousand foot and military stores. (Wilks 2. 148).

42. Then the Mahrattas remained for eight or ten days quiet at the hill of Errodu (5) near [Seringa] patam. Here Hyder attacked them with heavy artillery and daily made incursions against them. For one month the batteries of the Mahrattas played upon the fort. But at last they saw that the garrison could not listen to terms, the fort being very strong. The Mahrattas plundered all the surrounding villages wherein they set their garrisons. They passed a year

in these acts and 'bled' (6) the country as far as the boundaries of Salem in the low lands, Sanea ragiri, Dhuripoor and the rest.

43. Hyder daily recruited his army and three or four times he thrashed the Mahrattas (taubih) soundly. (7) He sent Tippoo Sultan: and Barki Sri Niva Bao and other chiefs to waylay and seize the stores and money on their way to the Mahratta camp. These supplies were seized while coming along the Galwad road. They made prisoners of about a thousand or five hundred of the escort with abundance of supplies, and some treasure which they carried off to Nagar [Bednoor].

44. Orders were then sent to Tippoo Sultan to remain at Nagar [Bednoor]. News being now received that Triambac Bao had got orders to settle the affair quickly and return [to Poonah]. On learning of this, through Murari Bao and Appaji Rao the vakeel, Hyder agreed to make peace, if the sum of twenty-five lacks (8) of rupees were paid him. Of this sum twelve lacks were to be paid down in money and six lacks were to be made good in elephants and jewels: and Soma Setti, a banker's agent was given as Security for seven lacks: this agent being made over as a pledge by Hyder to the Mahrattas. Then the Mahratta army set out to march to Poonah.

45. Mir Sahab and Gholam Ali Khan and other of Hyder's chieftains, fifteen in all, had been made prisoners by the Mahrattas: all these were released. This agreement being completed in the year Nandana [A.D. 1772] the Mahrattas returned these men to Serin

(1) The Calcutta Persian volume calls the village of Tonnur but Garicora which probably is a place in the same neighbourhood.

(2) Wilks, 141 spells it Cherecooleo: 'hills to the south of the lake of Tonnur.' Hyder always remembered this with grief. See Kirmani pages 194 and 479, 80 and Rennell, p. XCIX. and Soleti Krishnaya ago—Anno 1770.

(3) The phrase is *paraoo gheoon* which must mean that they were made prisoners. Compare section 45. Bar-ehi would mean of the Infantry but more probably it should be *Barki* Narayan Rao who as a well known personage.

(4) "Kurnas alo" literally were used up: an expression equivalent to the Chinese phrase "100 arrows were spent."

(5) The village which is now called French Rocks. See Wilks, 2, 148.

(6) *Fasd karna*; literally, to bleed. At this place the Calcutta Persian Memoir page 242, gives a story which does not appear elsewhere; that Triambac Mama accompanied by some of his troops came to bathe in the river on a religious occasion, but Hyder laid an ambuscade for him and gave him a severe blow, Triambac Mama sustained a heavy loss.

(7) Wilks 2. 150, Says Tippoo's detachment was 3000 irregular horse and 6 battalions of Infantry. They captured a convoy of one hundred thousand oxen laden with grain. This must be vast exaggeration.

(8) Compare Kirmani p. 228-229. He says only two lacks but Wilks 2, 151 says thirty lacks a still larger sum. Duff 2, 217 gives a different account: he says Hyder agreed to pay 30 lacks of rupees as arrears, and 14 lacks as annual tribute. The Calcutta Persian volume page 261 reduces the sum to two lacks: and so says Kirmani p. 229. Some have severely criticised the deviations in numerals which commentators have exhibited, regarding the books of Kings and Chronicles. The present volume exhibits deviations quite as great, and still bears clear marks of veracity.

gapatam. Hyder then (1) bestowed on his men money, jewels, lands and rewards of every kind: and his army was continually increasing in number.

46. After a year elapsed Hyder began to meditate the invasion of the Coorg country, having long borne ill-will to the king of Coorg (Kodugu). (2) He conquered that country and placed his garrison in the capital named (Madikera) Moreana. Under this king there was twelve (Bara nad zamindar) barons (3) whom Hyder left undisturbed in their dominions and gratified them with money, horses and jewels. He then levied some money for government and returned to Seringapatam.

47. The Nayrs had risen (4) upon Hyder's garrisons [on the arrival of the English at Calicut See para.] and rescued their lands. Hyder therefore sent this year Barki Sri Nivas Rao (5) and Syed Saheb with troops to resume these districts: they established garrisons throughout the country of Calicut and reduced it to obedience. (6)

48. In the (7) year Jaya (A. D. 1774) the Coorg king, named Devaya made his escape and remained hidden in Basava Patnam [between Chittul Droog and Ikery]. They traced him, caught him, and sent him to Seringapatam where he was fettered and imprisoned. (8)

49. Hyder (9) now sent Ali Zaman Khan as his messenger to Madras, in the year Vijaya (A. D. 1775): (10)

(1) Annual Register 1782 page 9 says Hyder made his treaty in July 1772 without the intervention of friend or ally. The historical chapters in the Annual Register are written by Edmund Burke, but Colonel Colin Mackenzie was the author of the memoirs in the Asiatic Annual Register.

(2) Literally, for a year past the Codagwala and the ~~patana~~ wala had had a grudge. This is a sample of the rude style of the original Mahatta.

(3) Wilks 2, 158. And Bartolomeo page 140 says—in 1773 Hyder attacked Calicut &c. The King named Samuri Krishno Tamburan fled with 5000 Nayres. The *Samuri* is commonly written Samorin or Zamorin.

(4) This will be understood by referring to a future paragraph.

(5) Wilks 2. 150-158.

(6) Here are a few unconnected words. The hand writing from this place to the close of Book II. is that of another writer.

(7) Here the two names Vijaya and Jaya are the names of 1773 and 1774: this is the more ancient method: in the modern days the two names are transposed. The author follows the vulgar method.

(8) In the original this sentence ends thus, "and having sent him....." error?

(9) All this affair is omitted in Kirmani and in Wilks.

(10) The name is Chennapatam—the context shows that Madras is intended. All the passages in this book regarding Madras and Pondicherry are imperfectly expressed, and it would seem the author describes the occurrences from mere hearsay.

he was the bearer of jewels and other gifts was to present to Govardhan Dass, and coming: but he Ali Khan [the Walajah] and to his son. [21.] go. He and waited upon [the Walajah] with whom he remained four or five months. Then the Vtry to request dismissed them with valuable gifts and sent them back to Hyder at Seringapatam. Along with them he sent Mir Fatih Ali Khan and Mir Baqir. They were received honorably by Hyder who after four or five Months dismissed them to return home, he bestowing horses, elephants and jewels upon them, and gave them a present of jewels, horses and elephants which were to be delivered to Mahammad Ali Khan and his son. [All this is unmentioned by Wilks.]

50. [Hyder] imprisoned Vissaji Pant (a for the Vakeel (ambassador) of the Mahrattas who was then present at [Maddur] Comapatam. For he heard that the Madhava Rao the Peshwa had died in the year Jaya (1775) and this seemed to be a fitting time for recovering the lands of Sira Madgirl and Chenn Ray Droog which Guram condra usurped by the Mahrattas. He therefore sent Tippoo Sultan with a force of horse and foot to seize and garrison these and other towns. They seized Sireh etcetera and besieged Gurramconda. In four or five months he recovered all the country from the hands of the Mahrattas. (12)

51. Hyder then marched from Seringapatam to Bangalore: he took Hosseota and Great Balapoyse in his own hands [from the Mahrattas] Tippoo joined Hyder's army bringing up his own force. They united army marched to Seringapatam. Here they purchased many horses for the Cavalry: enlisting good troopers and (larger) Regular Cavalry, whom he trained well.

52. He now learnt that Basalat Jung had laid siege to Bellary: (13) Hyder instantly went by forced night marches to that place. Baslat Jung's (dewan) Bhoja Rao had with him Lally the French [general] and 4000 or 5000 infantry: with some Europeans. All this force was conquered by Hyder in a four hours battle, and he routed them: the *dewan* was slain and Lally with a few horsemen made his escape. (Wilks 2. 163.)

Hyder now garrisoned Bellary (14) and marched to Advani (Adhoni) where he levied (one lakh of hoons) one hundred thousand pagodas from [him] Basalat

(11) Visaji Pandit was the Mahratta representative. See Book I. chap. 36 & 44.

(12) The Supplement to Kirmani, p. 505 observes that Hyder never suffered the funds of the Hindu pagodas to be diminished. See Wilks 2, 150.

(13) Compare Canarese records vol. 747, p. 38.

(14) Certainly a mistake. See note chap. 79.

Jung. Hyder now learnt (1) that Narayan Rao, the new Peshwa, had been slain at Poona : some months before and that Raghunath Rao, his successor on the throne, had marched Southwards, and crossed the Krishna with his forces.

53. [Visaji] Punt (2) hereupon sent "Iggil Shaum Rao" and Venkappaya the premier (pradhan) as messengers to Raghunath Rao : He received them kindly : and in sending them back they were accompanied by the Peshwa's brother-in-law Baji Rao "Barveh" and 1500 horse : (3) they came to visit Hyder : who gave them gifts and lodged them near him. (Wilks 2. 160.) Sri Munt Raghunath Rao (and (Bara Bhai) the Twelve Brethren (4) (or "Confederacy" Wilks) had quarrelled and in consequence Raghunath Rao proceeded to Hindustan. Baji Rao Barve being unable to come remained with Hyder.

54. The Coorgman (Koduguwala i. e. the Rajah) having been again rebellious (Hyder) punished him and hanged the more eminent men : (5) having thus settled the country Hyder appointed the leading man Raja of Great Coorg and established therein a garrison of troops under a Commandant. Thence he marched to Chitra-durg (Chittledroog) Rai Durgam, and Harponhalli, where he levied three or four years arrears from the (paligars) lairds : whom he took along with him adding their troops to his own. (Wilks 2. 161.)

55. In the year Mannatha, (i. e. A. D. 1775.) Hyder determined on sending Shah Nur Ulla, (6)

(1) Wilks vol. 2, p. 156, says Madhoo Rao died 18th November 1772. His brother and successor Narain Rao was killed on the 30th Aug. 1773 and was succeeded by his uncle Raghunath Rao, who was afterwards celebrated as Raghoba : well known in the English transactions at Bombay—See details of the murder of Narain Rao in Duff 11. 247.

(2) Literally Pantani nicoon. i. e. The Punt heard of this, sent Sec. here we are to guess who the Punt is. It must be Visaji Punt.

(3) The Calcutta Persian volume page 196 says that a quarrel arose among the twelve brethren regarding Raghunath Rao's beheading his brother-in-law being attacked by them Raghunath Rao fled to Mysore and demanded (peshnash) tribute from Hyder : who on hearing of his weakened condition refused the payment, unless Raghunath would cede to him the suba of Sira Badami and Jalimal and if these were given him he would give ten lacks of rupees. Raghunath agreed : and sent Baji Rao to make over these lands to Hyder and receive the ten lacks. Ultimately Baji Rao instead of returning to his master, remained with Hyder. Compare Wilks 2. 160 where this is omitted.

(4) The phrase Bara Bhai is explained in Duff.

(5) Wilks 2. 158 gives the horrible details.

(6) Wilks 2. 164 says his name was Shah Noor Ullah.

the governor of Nagar a man of high rank, as his ambassador to Iraun (Persia :) (7) by his hands Hyder sent jewels, an elephant, a palankeen, and other presents comprising all curiosities foreign to Persia : these were embarked on a ship : and he also sent some of his servants to raise troops [in Persia.]

56. The ambassador Shah Noor Ullah arrived in Persia and was honorably received by Karim Khan, the king ; who as a compliment sent 30,000 or 40,000 horses to escort him to the presence. They duly presented the gifts which were well received in pomp and the bearer was treated with great homage : the king exchanging presents with him, and sending several viziers as his (vakeel) ambassadors, with his present and Persian horses to Hyder. In returning the ambassador's ship arrived at (Codyal) Mangalore and he proceeded by the Nuggur road. This was in the year Darmukhi. (A. D. 1776.)

57. Hyder was at Seringapatam, where the ambassadors now arrived, and saw him : bringing with them about one thousand Moguls (Kullah posh) wearing black caps to be his soldiers whom he entertained as his cavalry : and gave them various posts. The more respected of those who came with them were presented with jewels and money. In dismissing the Persian ambassadors he presented them with 2500 (Shanari cass) gold coins that they should procure more troops and sending suitable vakeel with the vakeel of Karim Khan he sent them by sea from Mangalore to go to (Iran) Persia.

58. But the Ship was driven back by contrary winds (8) and wrecked near Cochin : where most of those on board lost their lives : a few native Sailors reached Seringapatam : while all the wealth fell into the hands of the people of the coast. (9) The ambassadors travelled from thence to Soorat Bundar [Surat] whence they went home to [Persia] their own land.

59. Hyder had proceeded to besiege Morari Rao at Gootty. (10) This was in the year Mannatha (A. D. 1775.)

The fort held out for two or three months when Morari Rao came to terms Hyder ordered that he should not be brought into the camp. He was thereupon sent a prisoner to Seringapatam with his wife and children. (11) All his goods were made over to ("the

(7) Wilks 2. 164. This was an embassy to Karim Khan the ruler of Shoraz.

(8) This is mentioned in no other book.

(9) (Parai Bandar wale') i. e. the people of Cutch.

(10) Guttii waleh Murari Rao.

(11) Wilks 2. 167 gives a long statement.

Sircar") Hyder. Lands valued at twelve lacks of Rupees fell into Hyder's hands. He with his army returned to Seringapatam where they remained six or seven months. The force at the time was 8000 horse 20,000 foot 12,000 (poadas): fifty (Zarbi-top) cannon. Every day the various corps were augmented. Meantime Morari Rao was sent a prisoner to Capala Durgam. (1)

60. Panduranga Rao who was brother of Parasa Ram Bhao 'of mirjee' (2) Also Sivaram Bhao, (3) was Morari Rao's (palaca) foster son and also the son of Swabhan Rao, ruler of 'Gajandra gada'. These chiefs came with 20,000 horse into the neighbourhood of Darwar(4). Hyder hearing of this sent 5000 horse and 10,000 foot under the command of Mohammad Ali 'Commandant.' But the mahratta horse would not give him battle: the Peshwa's troops [that is to say the Mahratta forces] were lying on the other side of Darwar, and they fled: they were pursued by Hyder's horse for three koss (six miles) in which many were slain: all their (Sawaris) conveyances, elephants and artillery amounting to 2000 horse fell into Hyder's hands. He sent them prisoners to Seringapatam. It was a glorious victory for Hyder's troops. Hyder rewarded the "Commandant" (Kumandan) and his troops with lands and other bounties.

61. Ibrahim Khan, (5) Zabr-i-Dowlah (who is called Dhounsa, ruler of Nirmal) being in the employ of Nizam Ali Khan came with 10 or 12,000 foot, and 10,000 horse and cannons, and warlike stores: he took up a position near Gootty. Hyder hearing of this made a forced march (Kooch) from Seringapatam in the year Durmukhi (A. D. 1776) and rapidly arrived at Gootty but the Dhounsa (dahshat khatoon) being daunted broke up from his camp and fled to his country.

62. Hyder was informed that the baron (paligar) of Chitra durg (Chittle droog) was a stout captain (6) and had a good band of men, Hyder thereupon

laid a plan against him: he summoned that Baron's enemies the Barons of Raldurgam (7) and Harponhalli to burst his gates: he took them along with him and marched to the neighbourhood of (Chitra durgam) Chittledroog. The baron of this fort had assembled 15,000 Beders, and 3000 horse; with military supplies and provender. He had also many other strong fortresses.

63. Hyder with some difficulty prepared batteries and the cannonade began: but the batteries of the besieged were well served and daily many men on both sides fell. The siege lasted three months (8) and Hyder collected much money as plunder round about. Two thousand of the Beder men were taken prisoners. (9).

64. At this time (10) Hari Pant Pharkay and the gallant Manaji Phakra (11) with 30,000 or 40,000 [Mahratta] horsemen crossed the Krishna and (as Hyder now heard) marched into Anegondi. The baron of Chittledroog had agreed to pay Hyder thirteen lacks of Rupees: but having neglected paying this sum (Wilks 2 182) to evade payment he fled. As the Mahrattas were drawing near, Hyder thought it imprudent to keep up his batteries: he removed them, and set out with his army to assault the Mahrattas.

65. At this time Raghunath Rao and his brother-in-law (12) Baji Rao Barve (see paragraph 53) who accompanied Hyder was desired by Hyder to seduce Manaji by bribes: Manaji agreed to take a bribe of six lacks: and accordingly he promised to come over to Hyder in the hour of battle with ten thousand

(7) Literally 'The Raldurg-wala.'

(8) Three months kermani and page 351 says three years. An evident error as the dates show. This is one of the proofs that kermani was not present.

(9) Literally. Two thousand Beders were made Assadulahi. This was a phrase of Tipoo's coinage, denoting prisoners. It frequently occurs in the latter pages of this memoir and is noticed in the appended remarks. *See* 'The History of the Kingdom of Mysore' p. 11.

(10) This paragraph is obscure and may easily be misrepresented being very loosely worded in a conversational style. 'Phakadi' meaning *the gallant or warlike* is a title common to several Mahratta heroes: while Parkey (more strictly Phatke,) means entitled to wear a *Patka* or gold band on the turban. See Miles p. 232.

(11) Regarding Manajee Phakray See Duff 2. 267 is Phakre. The same as the Hindu Phokur 'a fine sensible young fellow' (Shak). In one word a 'Blade' or hero while Phatkey means 'the crowned hero.'

(12) This must be wrong. Raghunath Rao had fled (see paragraph 53) and his brother in law Baji Rao Barve was left with Hyder. Accordingly we should read this "Baji Rao, brother in law to Raghunath, who was in Hyder's employ" &c.

(1) Capala Durgam—the Bastille "a fort within sight of Seringapatam" (Ham. Bu. 1. 53.)

(2) Mirj wala: i. e. lord or baron of the village of Mirj.

(3) Wilks 2. 178 says that Sevaram Bhao was nephew to Morari Rao.

(4) See Kermani page 313.

(5) "Ibrahim khan Doonsa" M. H. Ali khan page 312. Here follows in that book other details very lengthy: and seemingly unknown to 'Punganuri' Regarding Dhounsa. See Grant Duff 2. 324 Wilks 2. 179.

(6) See M. H. Ali. page 332. Wilks 2. 181 But Mill. book 5 chap. 2, between dates 19th April and 11th June 1775 by an odd blunder talks of the "army of the Mutseddies" (i. e. clerks, accountants) as being deserted by Scindeah. This is parallel to the "ferocious doolies" of a contemporary historian.

horse. Baji Rao wrote to Manaji and got an answer from him. Then Hyder marched to give battle to Hari Pant at Baravi a village on this side of Anagondi on the banks of the Tumboodra. Then Hyder and Baji Rao came forward to speak with Manaji. (1) The place appointed for meeting was at the village of Baravi on this side of Anagondi, and on the banks of the Tungabhadra (Toombuddra.)

66. Here their forces were confronted (mukabala). Manaji's ten thousand horse stood aloof waiting their opportunity to come over to Hyder while camel couriers (2) were going backwards and forwards with messages between them. (Wilks 2, 184) Hari Pant now suspected the plot and accordingly he seized upon Manaji's cavalry and bore them across the Krishna, placing them six coss beyond the other side: where he hemmed in Manaji with his guards.

67. At that moment Manaji-Phakra was setting out to cross [the river] with 200 horse, but he was pursued [by Hari Pant Parkoy] and several of his men were slain, Manaji himself being wounded: but with thirty horse he escaped across the river and joined Hyder. (Wilks 2, 185) Hari Pant retired and plundered all the goods found in [Manaji's] camp and seized upon his wife and dependants whom he cast into prison with all he had.

68. Hari Pant now began to think that this was not a fitting year for laying sieges; and finding that the most respectable chief of his army [i. e. Manaji] whom he had trusted, was treacherous, he set off at rapid rate homewards.

69. [Manaji] (3) was received very kindly by Hyder; who bestowed on him an elephant, horses, tents and every thing he could want: comforted him and kept him at hand.

70. Hyder now returned to [Chitra]droog which he besieged closely: the brothers and kin of [Barma Naick the Beder] baron of that fort (4) were daily wounded: [the baron] had two or three thousand Muslims, cavalry, who betrayed their trust and came over to Hyder: this rendered the baron desperate. He therefore sent a message demanding terms; and mounting his palankeen he came over to [Hyder's]

army (5). Hyder gave him a tent but kept a strict guard over him. The baron's wife and children were now brought out of the fort and sent to [Seringa] patam: where the baron was placed in one dungeon and his family in another.

71. All the wealth (6) and property found in [Chitra]droog was made over to ("the Sircar") Hyder: he settled the country, placed a garrison, and appointed Sheikh Ayaz (7) Commandant of that Fort and ruler of the district leaving a strong force under his orders.

72. He then set out to invade the Mahratta country (8) with a large force. He seized on (9) Bankapuram, Dharwar, Gajendragada, Badami, Yadwad. In the countries thus far he placed guards in garrison from place to place: appointing revenue collectors; thus he settled all the provinces. (Wilks 2, 186).

73. After remaining there some time he returned to invade Kurpa [Cuddapa] but here he was opposed [literally, they came and stood]. Hyder's army was much increased, and in the year Hevalambi [A. D. 1777] the Nabob (10) of Cuddapa fell into his hands. Hyder then having taken Cuddapa marched straight to Siddhout [Wilks 2, 191, gives a clearer story] where he halted.

74. In the late actions Hyder had taken eighty Pathans prisoners: he kept them at his gate at night they seized swords and two of them rushed into Hyder's own tent where they cut down the sentry and made a cut at the pillow of his couch. Hyder escaped from his tent. The pages in waiting drew their swords and slew these two. Then the guards were aroused: they seized and disarmed and bound and imprisoned the rest (11). Next day all the Pathan prisoners had their hands and feet (12) cut off.*

(5). This agrees with Wilks's account, vol 2. 188 Date March 1779. But Kirmani page 318, asserts that the fort was carried by assault.

(6). Wilks 2, 188, says the spoil did not amount to more than five lacks of Rupees.—

(7). Sheikh Ayaz: also called Hayat Sahib Wilks (2, 188,) says he was made Commandant. But Kirmani page 351, calls him Dowlat Khan.

(8). The Kartar of Mysore having formerly requested the Mahrattas to aid him against Hyder they are now to be punished for interfering.

(9). In Wilks 2, 186, he names Gajendraghar, Badami, Jullihal, and other posts.

(10). Here enter volume 742, a canarese M. S.

(11). Wilks 2, 193, mentions that Hyder had hitherto kept these Afghans prisoners but allowed them their swords. He says some of them were thus maimed, others put to death and some survived.

(12). The phrase "hath paon" merely means "hand foot, or both hands and both feet which is the statement in Wilks 2, 194, the Persian volume.

* The whole story regarding Halim Khan's downfall is omitted in the Mahratta and Persian manuscripts. I will here supply it from a Telugu volume in the same collection.

(1). All this page is obscure in the original from the lax and careless use of pronouns. The author seems to dislike stating the occurrences intelligibly. Instead of Manaji the author always says Phakade mazcoor *the said hero* and he speaks of Hari Pant as the *Pant mazcoor*: and to increase the obscurity he describes places in a conversational style as being "on this side" or the "other side."

(2). Shutr sawar "Dromedary courier" Wilks.

(3). The name Manaji is expressed "Phakre."

(4). This baron's name is omitted: but from other sources his name appears to be Barma Nayak, captain of Chital durgam.

75. 1. In the year Viorama (A. D. 1760) Nawab Mohsin Khan, of Kuddapa sent orders to Sarvar Khan Commandant of Siddhavatam; (vulg. Sedhout) summoning him to attend. But he was afraid to go to Kuddapa. Thereupon Mohsin Khan planned an expedition to seize Sarvar Khan. This came to his ears: and thereupon he, with a few followers fled to Kummum (vulg. Cumbhum). There he collected a small force and once made a descent upon Siddhavat (his own residence) and did some cruel acts: while the troops in the fort resisted him. He attacked them but having no success he turned back. In the Year Vishu (A. D. 1761) certain (nayaks) captains in the fort of Siddhavatam, who were named Timma Nayudu and Siddi Nayudu with the leading Sikh captains combined together and released Abdul Halim Khan, (son of Abdul Masid Khan who was son of Abdul Hamid Khan,) from prison in the fort of Siddhavat: they placed him on the chair of state and presented offerings to him.

75. 2. When news of this reached Kuddapa, Nawab Mohsin Khan considered that he could not safely interfere in this matter. He therefore quitted Kuddapa and went to Kandanolu (Curnool). Thus Halim Khan became ruler of Siddhavatam and also of Kuddapa. He appointed his younger brother's Sayad Mirjan Khan and Rahma Mirjan Khan rulers of Pasupala, of Uyalavada and some other villages: they went, supported by a small force and encamped near Pasupala.

75. 3. There they were attacked by Sarvar Khan who had some troops both horse and foot. After a short action Sarvar Khan was retreating when Sayad Mirjan Khan and Rahma Mirjan Khan pursued him as far as Uyalavada where they smote off his head.

75. 4. After Nawab Mosum Khan had gone to Kandanolu he gave his seal ring to one Ghayas Sahab desiring that it might be conveyed to Halim Khan. When Halim Khan knew of Ghayas Sahab's approach he marvelled what might be his errand; so he sent Siddi Hilla with a detachment who met and fired on Ghayas Sahab. But he said I am the bearer of a seal ring from Nawab Mosum Khan to Nabob Halim Khan: you should not attack me. Thereupon they made friends and proceeded together to Cuddapa where Ghayas Sahab delivered the ring to Halim Khan.

75. 5. Mohsin Khan died about this time at Kandanolu. Halim Khan ruled Kuddapa and Siddhavat from S. S. 1683-1691 (A. D. 1761-1769). But in this last year 'the Bahadar' (commonly called Hyder Ali Khan, ruler of Seringapatam) marched with his army into that neighbourhood and encamped at Wanthimitta, determined on attacking Halim Khan. Then

Halim Khan sent his minister Uttama Chundu Lala to intercede and to offer tribute and present some money. Hyder accepted this and marched away.

75. 6. Halim Khan bestowed some lands (in jagire) as a living on this minister Uttama Chundu Lala; who however was accused of having abstracted part of the proceeds. This accusation was made by Rupu Ram and by Kosiva Reddi of Uyalavada. The Nabob believed their statements, and thereupon sent people to plunder the house of Uttama Chundu Lala; then this minister was chained to the foot of an elephant and trampled to death.

75. 7. In the year Manmatha (A. D. 1775) Nizam Dhoamsa was sent by the Nawab Nizam Ali Khan with an army and encamped in the neighbourhood of Hari Hara (Hurryhur). Then Halim Khan went and met Dhoamsa and consulted with him plotting the destruction of (Hyder) 'the Bahadar.' This became known to Hyder who quitted Seringapatam and marched by the Bellary road. Meanwhile Dhoamsa prepared to march away by the Nirmal route: and he desired Halim Khan to go home to Cuddapa.

75. 8. Halim Khan set out and marched northwards, crossing the Tumbhadra, and travelling by the road of Gonupalli where he remained two days with Munavar Khan the Nabob of (Kurnool) Kandanolu: and then marched with his own troops to Chakarlaloni near Duhoor: the fort at this village being in the hands of Mattla Appaia Razu, baron of Chitwel, he besieged the fort for four months and on conquering the place he marched on to the fort of Siddhavatam.

75. 9. He sent spies to enquire where Hyder then was: and was told that Hyder was dead. Halim Khan was well pleased and bestowed gifts on the men who brought these tidings. This became known to Hyder and he therefore sent a detachment commanded by Mir Sahab to besiege Cuddapa. Mir Sahab marched to the neighbourhood of Duhoor and captured the fort of Kummadi.

75. 10. On hearing of this Halim Khan sent his two brothers Ghafir Mirjan and Sayad Mirjan with his son Husen Mirjan: giving them some supplies and guns commanded by Siddi Hilla they were thus sent to guard Cuddapa. This party marched to Kuddapa and found that Mir Sahab had already taken the fort at Kummadi. Thereupon they turned and went to Duhoor and strengthened that fort: pitching their camp outside.

75. 11. Hyder's officer Mir Sahab set out from Kummadi and marched to Jambulamadaka (now called Jummalmudgoo) and took that town: then he proceeded to Poddatur and after taking that place he was attacked by Husen Mirjan and others who lay encamped at Duhoor. They drove him away from

Poddatoor and then they returned and remained at Duhoor. Hyder was then at Chitracallu and Mir Sahab sent a message to him praying a reinforcement without which he said he could not take Kuddapah.

75. 12. On hearing of this, Hyder set out with Tippoo and marched his entire army to Duhoor and halted on the south-west of that town at the village of Kundu-gadda : while his troops were spread through Jillelu, Tangatoor, Vellivola and Chilamalur. Halim Khan was warned that the 'Bahadar' and Tippoo were marching on his town from Chitracal. On hearing of this he wrote letters to Husen Mirjan, Ghafer Mirjan and Siddi Hillaal ordering them to unite all their troops at Kadapa,

But Siddi Hillaal was treacherous to him and was inclined to side with [Hyder] Bahadar. He therefore did not deliver the letter which was addressed to Husen Mirjan : he concealed it.

75. 13. On the night of 15 Chaitra, Vicari S. S. 1701 (i. e. 1st April 1779) after supper, Husen Mirjan, and Ghafer Mirjan taking Siddi Hillaal and all their troops, marched against the invading force ; for they imagined this force to be Mir Sahab's alone : they were ignorant of the arrival of Hyder and Tippoo. They proudly said Shall Mir Sahab be able to withstand us ? These two Nabobs [i. e. Husen and Ghafer] mounted each an elephant and taking Siddi Hillaal with them they entered the plain and there they beheld Hyder's army. Whichever way they looked, as far as the eye could go, there were cavalry, infantry and artillery, without end.

75. 14. Then they sent for Siddi Hillaal with some prudent men of rank, and said ; the army appears enormous ; it does not look like the army of Mir Sahab should Hyder be here, mischief will happen. What chance have we against a force so huge ? How shall we find out whether this is the army of Mir Sahab or that of Hyder himself. To this speech some able commanders replied by offering to go and find out the truth. Ten horsemen thereupon attacked Hyder's body guard, and seized one whom they brought back and questioned him. He assured them saying both Hyder and Tippoo are now present in the camp and so you cannot escape : if you are prudent, you will not begin the assault but the retreat.

75. 15. When Husen and Ghafer Mirjan heard these words, they said, "We might retire leisurely had we time, but to retreat suddenly would be rash and fruitless. Let us therefore commence the attack," with this resolution they prepared both the infantry and artillery, and chained the elephants [to keep them from running away] and on the night [of 1 April] at midnight they commenced the assault. The battle continued until four ghurrees [two English

hours, nearly] after sunrise and was very furious. but Husen and Ghafer lost many men and were unable to stand their ground : they therefore turned and drew off their elephants and retreated to Mitta. many palleh, pursued by Hyder's carbineers and other cavalry who slew such as were fleeing. At noon on the day after full moon (2d April) these two Nabobs were surrounded on their elephants by Hyder's carbineers.

75. 16. Both being taken prisoners Hyder marched at once to the thick tamarind forest near Siddhavatam and sent a message to [their father] Halim Khan ordering him to appear in the presence. Before daring to present himself Halim Khan released ~~Rup~~ Ram the Kayast and Ghayas Sahab the Turk (both of whom he had kept in prison,) and he sent them to make terms with Hyder.

75. 17. These two went to Hyder⁸ and treacherously joined themselves with him. They said If you will give us some troops we will introduce them unto the fort and if you will have your troops ready outside, the fort will fall unto your hands. Hyder gave them some troops whom those two men brought to the gate of Siddhavatam. Halim Khan's son-in-law and others on seeing these troops went and told Halim Khan saying the messengers we sent (Rup Ram and Ghayas Sahab) have returned, accompanied by troops : it looks like treason.

75. 18. Then Halim Khan sent out two proper messengers to confer with Rup Ram and Gaya Sahab : the messengers said you went out to offer terms ; why do you now return with troops ? Rup Ram and Ghayas Sahab replied We have settled the terms peaceably, and we will now report the particulars to the Nabob [meaning Halim Khan]. When Hyder dismissed us he said As we have now made an agreement I will give you some of my troops who are to be admitted [into Siddhavatam] and to walk round the ramparts. If this is agreeable to you, I will consent to your proposals, but not otherwise. If you refuse I shall besiege your town. As Hyder spoke thus, we as your friends consented, and he has sent his troops here with us. If you wish well to Halim Khan you should represent these things to him, and induce him to allow these troops to enter and walk round the ramparts : while we ourselves will state to him the conditions on which Hyder offers peace.

75. 19. The messengers then returned into the fort and stated all this to Halim Khan, who consented and admitted Rup Ram and Ghayas Sahab with the troops within the walls. But presently there appeared under the walls more of Hyder's troops, both horse, carbineers, and infantry ; who had been lying in wait in the rear.

75. 20. When Halim Khan's servants returned to him they warned him that the whole of Hyder's force

was now marching up to the fort. There is now, said they, no doubt of their designs, and if you will issue orders we will commence the battle. But Rup Ram and Ghayas Sahab being then in the Nabob's presence replied; What though the army of Hyder draw near our walls, what does it signify? as soon as the party already admitted shall go out again, after walking round the walls, terms of peace shall be settled: may do not now agitate matters.

75. 21. Halim Khan trusted these advisers and ordered his men to make no attack on Hyder's soldiers. While Hyder's guards were still inside the fort there entered first infantry, and then some (Karolu Savar) cavalry, and, reached Halim Khan's door, whereupon Halim Khan's men fired a few shots. But Hyder's army being not only the stronger but likewise the best regulated, paid no attention to such a paltry resistance and took possession of the fort.

75. 22. The troops who were first admitted set upon Halim Khan's residence: and at that moment Hyder entered with all his army, seized Halim Khan with his wives and children and sent them all captives to Seringapatam. Halim Khan's goods and wealth, with all he had placed at Cuddapah, were all within one month transmitted to Seringapatam: while Hyder garrisoned Siddhavatam and Cuddapa: which had for eighteen years been ruled by Halim Khan. During Halim Khan's reign every pagoda in Siddhavat was in ruins. Afterwards this town was ruled by a brahmin named Balinani patnam Joganna: and as he fell into arrears, Tippoo summoned him [in 1795] to Seringapatam where he was slain, being rolled up in a blanket and flung from the crest of the hill.

76. This intelligence was at once made known to Halim Khan (1) at Siddhout: then he accepted terms and came out of his fort [of Siddhout] [Wilks 195] and Hyder sent him and his wife and family to Seringapatam where he imprisoned them.* Hyder now placed garrisons throughout the Cuddapah country: which he entrusted to Mir Ali Razar Khan, and returned home to Seringapatam (2).

Hyder now meditated an embassy to Delhi. He appointed Bal Mucunda Dass Soucar; and Karvan Sujayat Khan the Pathan as messengers (3) to Ali Gauhar minister of the Badshah. They did so go to Hindustan: and their intent was to bring back

with them handsome and good looking recruits from among the Jains. His object also was to obtain from the Badshah a royal grant of the Hyderabad (Soobeh) country to himself. Hyder gave them two lacks of Rupees to present as offerings and sent them off (4) in the year Vicari [A. D. 1779].

77. In this year Hyder made friends with Abdul Hakim Khan, of Savanur: to whose daughter he wished to marry his son Karim Sahab: and Hyder wished his own daughter to marry the son (named Abdul Khair Khan) of this Hakim Khan.

78. [Hakim Khan represented that] the Mahrattas had formerly seized half his realm, being eleven districts which had belonged to the Savanoor country: [which districts had since fallen into Hyder's hands] and [Hakim Khan] proposed that a portion of this should now be restored to him. On these terms he agreed to serve Hyder with 2000 horse (5). This being settled, preparations were made for the marriage. and Hakim Khan with his family came to Seringapatam. They laid out (unitedly) three or four lacks of Rupees and celebrated the weddings magnificently. Hyder presented the Khan with horses and elephants and sent him home.

79. Monsieur Lally (6) who had fled from the battle at Balapoor (7) was at this time in the employ of the Nizam at Hyderabad. In the year Vicari (A. D. 1779) he sent 25,000 Rupees as an advance (8) and invited him with two hundred French Soldiers (farangi) 150 troopers (turubaswar) or cavalry, and 1000 Infantry and two cannons. Hyder received Lally very liberally: appointing him 2000 rupees as monthly pay and agreeing to pay all his men according to the muster roll, keeping them in his service (Wilks 2, 303.)

80. In this year Vicari (A. D. 1779) Vakeels named Ganesh Rao, and Govind Rao were sent by the Peshwa to attend the said weddings; bringing Hyder a letter of gratulation and to present jewels. The Peshwa on this occasion exchanged assurances with him it was agreed that as the English were warring against the Peshwa merely on account of Raghunath Rao

(1). Abdul Halem Khan the Pathan, Nabob of Cuddapah Wilks 2, 191, and 195.

* The reader may omit the above four lines, as they merely tell the story of Halim Khan again.

(2). Wilks says Hyder took the Nabob's Sister as a 'Nikah wife' or concubine.

(3). This embassy was to Delhi; the emperor of that day was named Shah Aulum. Perhaps the sense is "to Ali Gauhar who was minister to the Padshah."

(4). Colonel Wilks 2, 573-579, gives anecdotes written by the venerable Swartz, regarding this period.

(5). See Kermani p. 308-371.

(6). Compare 2, 352, The name Musah Lali means Monsieur Lally. This is mentioned in Wilks 2, 203, 204, where see regarding this 2000, Rupees.

(7). Balapoor seems to be written by error for Bellary see chap. 52. In that fight the name Basalat Jang may possibly be an error for some Malhatta name.

(8). "As a Musafide" a subsidy.

that therefore the Peshwa and Hyder should continue to be friends to one another. (1)

Hyder had formerly been paying (Khandani) tribute to the Mahrattas; but three or four years this had run into arrears amounting to 1,800,000 eighteen lacks (2) of Rupees. This sum he raised and sent by the vakeels; to whom likewise he committed elephants jewels and handsome presents for their ruler (3).

81. Hyder now resolved on invading the low countries (Payenghat.) He took fourteen thousand cavalry (4): twelve thousand (Sildar) irregular horse twenty thousand Infantry and twelve thousand (Carnatica) matchlock men (5). He had with him as allies (palehgar) barons of Harpanhally and Raidroog, Honnoor, (6) and Savanoor and others. He marched to Bangalore where he arrived in Jyeshth, year Sarvari (July 1780). Thence he marched down, through the Singarpeta pass (ghaut) (7). He gave five thousand men to the hand of Karim Saheb [his son] and sent him to Mohammad Bandai (i. e. Porto Novo) A detachment marched to invade Madras, while Hyder proceeded with his army to Tirunamalie [Wilks 2, 254, gives a return of Hyder's force].

82. The detachment sent to plunder Porto Novo ('Mohammed Bandai') then rejoined Hyder: and now he set out on a march plundering every place in his way. He reached Arcot and besieged that place (8).

83. On hearing that [General] Baillie was approaching Arcot. Hyder sent his son Tippoo Sultan to oppose him [Wilks 2, 277] and a fight took place

(1). Wilks 2, 208, gives an account which is different but equally vague: the statement made by Kirmani 374 is mere vapouring.

(2). Wilks 2, 206 says Hyder owed 25 lacks of rupees and paid eleven lacks.

(3). 'He bestowed a Khillut on the Vakeel' is a coarse rude phrase.

(4). Sillehdar—of these warriors Dugald Dalgetty is a fair specimen.

(5). The numerals are variously stated in various historians, thus

	Cavalry	Sildar	Infantry	Carnatic	
Pungnuri	14,000	12000	20,000	12,000Total.
Wilks,	14,000	12000	15,000	{ 12,000 2000 }	83,000
				{ 18,000 }	besides
				{ 10,000 }	2000
					rockets

Macfarlan 28,000 15000 40,000

(6). Honnoor: I am assured this is Havanoor, literally snake town. The place meant is Holleh Honnoor, which is in Mysore. But Havanoor is in the Poonah country.

(7). "Chengama pass" says Wilks 2, 266,

(8). See Kirmani 391-393, and Wilks 2, 266, 267 dated 21st August. The English marched from Madras to relieve Arcot: Colonel Baillie led the van the rear being commanded by Sir Hector Munro, they reached Congeveram [Kanchi] in great force,

which lasted one or two days. The English made a vigorous defence: so much so that Hyder raised his camp and marched against them. The English army was now the weaker and was attacked with artillery on both sides. A cask of gunpowder in the English camp exploded: whereupon the fire both of cannon and musketry paused. Then Hyder's cavalry attacked them on all sides and the English line was broken. Many on each side exerted themselves greatly: the survivors both English and Native with General Baillie and Rumley and Lieut. Fraser (9) were taken prisoners. This happened on Sarvari Bhadrabada 13th of the wane [10th September 1780.]

84. All the cannons and muskets of the English force were taken. The three commanders were brought before Hyder who treated them courteously: granting them tents and other supplies. When the [English] troops advancing from Conjeeveram heard of this they turned and marched through the peta (10). towards Madras.

85. Hyder rejoiced much at this great victory. He wrote and sent tidings of it to every fort under his sway: and he fired a salute of cannon, distributing sweetmeats to his troops.

86. The above said three English commandants (11) and five or six hundred 'Soldats' (Soldaz) and about twenty petty Officers were imprisoned at Seringapatam and in Bangalore: they were treated well and duly supplied with requisites.

87. Then Hyder returned to Arcot opened his batteries and made an assault on the city walls. Here he captured Achanna Pandit (12), and Najib Khan the commandant: also some English Officers who were in the fort: they having capitulated and come out Hyder bestowed gifts on them and sent them to Madras. He sent all the plunder to Bangalore.

(9) Fraser is the name (Wilks 522) but in the Mahratta it seems to be Falzamar. Wilks 2, 267 says that the force under Sir Hector Munro was 5209 strong and the force under Baillie was 2813. Also that Tippoo's force was 5000 foot, 6000 horse, 6 heavy and 12 light cannon with a large body of Irregulars (10) 'The peta' seems to denote Chungul peta The battle is described in Wilks 2, 275 and Wilson's Mill IV. 212, 215.

(11) Sir David Baird's memoir, p. 33, says that twenty-three officers and some soldiers were sent to Bangalore as prisoners. In this passage of Pungnuri it is written "Sireh loon Sardai teeghe" three captains from Sireh. This probably should be "Baleh Sardar" great captains.

(12) The diwan of Walaja also called Achanna Pandit whom Hyder styled Raja Deobur. (Wilks 2, 288,) Kirmani 394.

MEMOIRS

OF

TIPPOO SULTAN,

BOOK III.

Comprising the first Eight Years of Tippoo's Reign, A. D. 1782-90.

1 TIPPOO SULTAN was born at Devanhully on the second day of the wane in the month Maigashira year Anghasa [that is A. D. 1752 (1)] At this time Hyder was engaged, under Nanda Raz at Tinchinopoly.

In the year Vicrama (A. D. 1760) the Kartai (2) began to resist Hyder [See Book I. 37. 40] Tippoo Sultan [who was then eight years old] was left by Hyder with the rest of the family in his own village outside the fort [of Seringapatam] while Hyder escaped to Bangalore. Then Nandraz brought Tippoo and the rest of Hyder's family into the fort of Seringapatam as prisoners. Hyder returned to that fort and seized Khandah Rao and settled the affairs of the state. He removed Tippoo and his family to Bangalore thence he marched to basiego Nagar [Biddunur, Bednore] which he conquered and removed Tippoo to Nagar and reared him as a young prince: ap-

pointing a suitable band of attendants to wait upon him and employing learned tutors to carry on his education. Thence he took Tippoo with him when going to attack Calicut for he intended to train him in riding and the chase and in all manly exercises for he employed him in every branch of the service and in hunting.

On returning to Seringapatam he after a while gave Tippoo the command of a squadron of two hundred horse as a life guard.

2 After Hyder had fought and conquered Tiyaambae Mama he gave his son Tippoo the command of five hundred horse granting him as a jaghir the districts of Malval, Conanoor above the hills and Tangericota and Dharmapuri and Pennagai in the lowlands

He employed Tippoo in any military affair that occurred, to command his (Hyder's) forces. The details hereof I have given in the Life of Hyder.

After [the death of] Hyder, (3) Tippoo Sultan succeeded to the throne. He gave every encouragement to the old captain and to all the servants. He issued orders of confirmation to the various Collectors throughout the country.

The Army he now commanded consisted of 12,000 regular cavalry 20,000 irregular horse, 30,000 foot

(1) Confirmed by Wilks, 3, 450. It is fully three years later than the date given in Kirmani. See Book II. 10-13, Khikpatilek p 217-218, says Tippoo was born A.H. 1165 A.D. 1751-2 'the 14th of Tuloooy, A.H. 1165' according to 'Tippoo's new fashion of dates. The English reader should observe that "Sultan" is here a proper name: Hyder named his son after a certain fakoor or saint and several fakours bear the names Shah, Padshah or Sultan.

(2) The Kartai is merely styled "the Raja" a word equally applicable to Nanda Raja. In the English translation the difference is made clearer that it is in the original.

(3) Here again is an instance of Hyder's decess being passed over unnoticed. Silence so universal on a matter so interesting to all, must have been caused by commands which none dared disobey.

and 12,000 (Carnatic) militia : also 5,000 pioneers ; and a park of Artillery. *

3 When he was at Cuddalore he consulted Monsieur Lally (the French General) and Admiral Suffren, who had landed at Mahmud Bandar (Porto Novo) with 3,000 Europeans and 5,000 or 6,000 Africans (See Book II. 97.) He consulted with them and obtained 500 French soldiers ("Soldats") and one officer, these he brought into his camp and was planning an attack upon the English.

4 Meantime the English forces were encamped at Vandavasi [near Trivatoor.] [The English call it Wandowash, the author has written this name Vandavasi.] (1)

On learning that Hyder had obtained the aid of the French, the English retired to Madras. Then Tippoo marched to Vandavasi. *

5. There was an officer of Hyder named Sheikh Ayaz : (2) by birth a Nair but circumcised and appointed a (chela).†

6. When the report of [Hyder's] decease arrived Sheikh Ayaz dreaded lest Tippoo's rule would prove unfortunate to him as great hatred existed between himself and Tippoo. Ayaz therefore invited General Mathews [to occupy Nagar Bednore] with 2000 English soldiers and 6000 native troops. This force accordingly marched and garrisoned Bednore. [A. D. 1782] And while on his march to Nagar Bednore he placed a garrison at Honnavar (Honore) and captured Mangalore.

7. Ayaz quitted Nagar Bednore : where [his] troops were scattered on all sides : and were marching into the Seringapatam territory with the elephants and artillery. Ayaz had seen General (Mathews) and consulted him regarding arrangements for his future safety. (3)

8 Meantime the inhabitants of Coorg arose in rebellion against Tippoo. who on hearing of this, desisted from the war against the English. He appointed

Mir Moïn Ud Din Khan Bahadur, with Dilor dî Khan Bahadur and Bahadur Uz Zaman Khan Bahadur with other officers to proceed with a force of 6000 foot and 5000 horse, with 10,000 (peons) Canarese militia to settle the business in (Waloja) Nagar (4) and Arcot and appointed Jogî Pandit as Dewan (in that neighbourhood.) At this time he ordered the city walls (of Arcot) to be blown up.

9. (Tippoo) then marched his army, accompanied by the French troops, through the Singurpetta pass to Bangalore : (5) thence he proceeded to Kolatur. He sent (Hyder) Bahadur's (tabut) coffin to (Seringa) patam and sent forty thousand star pagodas to be laid out in alms at the capital. He appointed Lutf Ah Bogh to command the van and sent some troops into the Coorg country. Then he marched rapidly to the neighbourhood of Nagar (Bednur) and as the van was unable to proceed beyond that place, he divided them into two parties : one of which was sent by the Cavi Durga road and the other by Anantpoor. After this was done Tippoo entered Nagar (Bednore) See Wilks 2.

10. The English force at Nagar guarded the hill-pass : and there were skirmishes for one or two days. but by attacking the place by assault on all sides Tippoo captured the town. This was in the year Sobhaerit (A. D. 1783) month Chaitra.

Ayaz had heard of the Sultan's approach and eight days before hand he had gone to Kundupoonam and by ship he thence escaped to Goa.

11. When the petta [of Bednore Nagar] was plundered, all the English troops entered the fort the fort was not strong. But there was a house of the Governor's, and the sago of this house employed the troops four or five days. (6) After the fort was taken this house surrendered. The Sultan spared the defenders of the house and brought them out of the fort but despoiled them : all the arms being reckoned as plunder.

12 He sent one thousand (gora farangi) English soldiers as captives, in fetters, to be imprisoned at Chittledroog and Coppul (near Kanaregûl) and Gootty, &c. He imprisoned General Mathew, ["Sardar Mattie"] severely in (Seringa) patam and twenty of his officers were confined at Kappi

(1) At this time there was a severe famine in Madras, 30th September 1782. The streets of Black Town and the roads were covered with dead bodies. Stuart's Appendix No. 2 and 4.

* See Wilks 2, 317. Tippoo was employed by Hyder in besieging this place, which the English had garrisoned. The siege began on 16th January 1781.

(2) Kirmanî's Life of Tippoo, page 8.

† See a different statement in Wilks 2, 453, 418, 189—see the well known in Stewart 'Tippoo's Library page 57.] He was a very able man. Hyder had at first appointed him to command [Chittie] droog (See Book 2, para 71.) But on the death of Rùm Raj who commanded (Bednore) Nagar he was appointed by Hyder to rule both the troops and the districts of Bednore.

(3) Regarding the betrayal and fall of Nagar Bednore on 25th February 1783, See Wilks, 2, 418.

(1) The carelessness of style is here remarkable. The writer uses Nagar in one paragraph for Bednore and in the next for a different town. The word word means city, or town.

(5) This story is more clearly told in Kirmanî

(6) Tippoo took Bednore 9th April 1783. See Mill, 4, 208. Wilks, 2, 462. Forster's, Oriental Memoirs 2d Edition 1844 Vol. 2, p. 457.

Dröog: (1) whose they all died: (2) Matthews was made to die at [Serlinga] patam where he had been imprisoned. [Tippoo] kept the privates in his service. (3)

13. After the fall of Nagar, the Sultan was enthroned, at Nagar. The ceremony took place on year Sobhaerit (4th May AD 1783) on Vaisakh Sudha Tadiya. He received [Nuzzers] offerings and there were great rejoicing (Wilks 2, 462.)

14. At Mangalore there was a garrison of five hundred (faringis) English and 1000 (bar sipai) native troops: the Sultan sent a small force commanded by Husen Ali Khan to besiege Mangalore. (Wilks 2, 463.) They were not successful: on hearing of this Tippoo himself marched with his army down from the (ghauts) hill passes.

15. The English force now set out from Madras to march against Pondicherry (Wilks 2 466) and take their revenge, whereupon Mons. Bussy summoned to his aid Syed Sahab who commanded Tippoo's troops below the hill passes.

16. Tippoo now sent messengers to Madras wishing to make peace with the English. The messengers were Appaji Rao, and Sri Nivas Rao [this was Tippoo's Diwan or Premier]. While these were consulting, two or three severe actions took place between the English and French at Pondicherry: and many lives were lost on each side. Orders came from [Vilayat] Europe commanding the war to cease: hereupon they were reconciled. The peace was about to be concluded, when the French intimated to the English that the peace with Tippoo should be made by the English themselves. Tippoo's messengers having been sent to the English direct, the English consented to this proposal, and sent an officer named Taylor who accompanied Tippoo's messenger back to the Sultan.

17. The French presented various gifts to Tippoo's officer [meaning Sayad Sahab see para. 15] who had come to aid them: they notified to him the peace which was now made by [the English and] the French: and they desired him to go home. He therefore quitted Pondicherry and returned to his post.

18. In the time of Hyder he had a servant named Shamaya a very superior man whom Hyder employed as Post Master. He was present with Tippoo Sultan at Mangalore: his elder brother Rangaya being the

head man at Serlingapatam; where one Syed Moham-mad was [Killedar] Captain of the fort. Syed Mohammad believed that Rangaya was plotting in favor of the English: thereupon he imprisoned him with 200 persons connected with him: out of these people he hanged some and killed others, by dragging them at the foot of an elephant. (4) He informed the Sultan of this by a letter written when he was at Mangalore. Hereupon Tippoo severely reprimanded Shamaya [who now was with Tippoo] (5) put him in irons and sent him to Serlingapatam where he was kept in a cage.

19. All his horse and wealth being seized and ruined, all his dependants were put to the torture. Ultimately two lacks of pagodas (700,000 Rupees or 800,000) were extorted from them: and [Tippoo] extorted other sums from their people employed in the Post office throughout the country, putting them fettered in prison.

20. After awhile he slew some of them and others perished in jail. Some were released after five or seven years had expired. This happened [probably meaning Shamaya's punishment] in the month Sravana, year Sobhaerit. [AD. 1783] at Serlingapatam while Tippoo was at Mangalore. Some wives of the sufferers were drafted into the Sultan's Seraglio.

21. Tippoo Sultan then went to Mangalore and lodged in the pagoda of a god named Cherkeel Vinayana [that is, Ganesa with an elephants head] At night the Sultan had a dream of an elephant which tormented him so much that he removed thence to the Village of Hounavar. As this god (Ganesa the elephant headed) performed such miracles (Karamat) Tippoo bestowed on him lands valued at three hundred pagodas a year (6)

22. Tippoo now laid siege to [Kodial] Mangalore fort: (7) every day there were sharp engagements: when the rainy season approached Tippoo sent all his cavalry up the hills into the Serlingapatam country retaining the infantry alone. He prepared and opened batteries on all sides and made such a vigorous assault that the fort was battered down even with the ground.

(4) See Wilk, 11, 438 500.

(5) See details in Wilks, 2, 428: he gives a clear account.

(6) This anecdote is no where else mentioned. By a similar superstition, detested by the better classes of Hindus and Musulmans, the corpse of Tippoo was found furnished with *Amulets*. See Beatson's Appendix page CI (101) "Tippoo's Taweez or talisman was fastened under the jacket on the right arm. Also page CIII.

(7) Mangalore was commanded by Col. Campbell (Wilks, 2, 465.)

(1) Not all; for Major Genl. Bowser, at that time an Ensign, was confined in a small cell in the gate of which he was fond of shewing when he subsequently ruled the place.

(2) See the story in Beatson CIV, note about Balid at Serlingapatam.

(3) This may well be doubted.

23. But the French officers now informed Tippoo (1) that peace having been made with the English against whom they could no longer join with him in the war, the French were about to return through Mahi (2) Bandar to Pondicherry. The Sultan would not listen to the French officers who now desisted and ceased from tending the batteries.

24. In the days of Hyder the fort of Kodyal [Mangalore] was commanded by the former (3) [Mazi] officer Comedam Khasim Ali alias Rustum Ali, who was Killadar. But Tippoo believed him guilty of surrendering the fort [of Nagar Bednoor] to the English and ordered him to be hanged. Mohammad Ali 'Comandant' and the men of his corps armed themselves and rescued the Killadar: the fight took place outside of the camp. [This is a confused summary of a story which the writer probably was ashamed to detail. It is told at full length in Kirmani page 19. 25.] On learning this, Tippoo sent 500 or 600 men who hemmed in the former (mazi Killadar) commander; many of those who defended him fled: the remnant about one hundred in number were made prisoners; including the Killadar. Tippoo chained some of them to the feet of elephants while others were blown away from cannon: the Killadar was hanged and the 'Commandant' was slain. (4) This struck fear into all the army. The Killadar's wives were made converts. (5).

25. While the siege was going on at Mangalore the messengers deputed to Madras returned and the siege was therefore ended. Treaties were exchanged

between Tippoo and the English. (6) It was agreed that all the English hitherto taken prisoners from the beginning of the war, whether officers soldiers or camp-followers still alive, should be released: and that nothing should be said regarding such as were dead, and the English should in like manner set free all whom they have captured. All the persons found in prison in Mangalore were to be put on board ship with their baggage. This was done: and Tippoo made costly presents to the English officers and sent them accompanied by some trusty servants as far as Vellore (Vellore.) Thirty or forty thousand (7) native Christians (8) of Mangalore, men, women and children were sent by Tippoo prisoners to Seringapatam where they were kept as converts.

26. Tippoo Sultan now proceeded to march up the Kadital (ghauts) hills: and observing a suitable hill he ordered a fort to be built upon it. This hill was formerly called (Narasana Kal) Nursaya Rock: but Tippoo named it Jamalabad: and ordered a town to be built here, appointing a Commandant. In a short time this place was ready. Tippoo then divided his army, one marched by the Aigur road; and another followed Tippoo: both met at Aigur: (9) which town he took: and named Manzarabad: where he ordered a fort to be built. Thence he proceeded to Periapattam where here left all his camp followers [Bhair.]

27. At this time the whole of the [Kodugu] (10) Coorg country had been usurped by Utteh naik (11) Tippoo therefore marched by Periapattam and entered Coorg by the Balaya nadu route. A battle took place at the ford in the river called Codugir Caveri. The usurper Utteh naik and his troops soon fled. Tippoo proceeded by the way of the Katantur country, and marched to Madikera (12). [Which the English call Mercara, the capital of Coorg] Tippoo named this town Zafabad or Muzafarabad, [see Kirmani. 2. 62.] Thence he marched by Bhod nad where he supposed Utteh naik had his home. This place was burnt down and Tippoo next turned to ["Lakiri Kota," the

(1) On 20th June 1783 the French at Pondicherry learnt that the war in Europe had terminated in the peace of January 1783. On 20th July the news reached Mangalore.

(2) Mahi the port between Tellicherry and Calicut.

(3) This "former ruler" was Rustum Ali Begh Wilks, 2, 481-484. The "Commandant" was named Mohammad Ali Shaji (vol. 2, page 484.)

(4) Wilks says the Commandant was not put to death till afterwards.

(5) The phrase *Asad Illahee Corps* is used in Wilks, 2, 559, 581. A learned Muslim of Seringapatam informs me that the word merely denote Converts. It is one of many phrases coined by Tippoo who had a fancy to alter the usual appellations of things. See instance in Bantsons "War with Tippoo" 1790 Appendix page VII note. In the Asiatic Annual Register 1799 (supplement page 170, 171) in a letter from Tippoo he even gives this name to a ship: omitting the real name. The Vocabulary is given in Asiatic Annual Register 1799 page 319 where Asadulai are rendered Cholas: and Ahimadis are Christians from the Carnatic: while Mohammadies are Chelas from Coorg. But Asadulai in the pages of Punganuri seems to mean "Shircari" appertaining to Government. See proof of this in Moor's account of Little's campaign, page 567 and Wilks, 2, 531.

(6) See the 5th Report page 101, state of the Jaghirs.

(7) These were sixty five thousand Syrian Christians. Wilks, 2, 495 and 529.

(8) Of the Farangi Mazhab i. e. Christians.

(9) See Wellington's Despatches, date 10th Sep. 1790, regarding "By Coor."

(10) Wilks 2, 532. Date 1785.

(11) The Muslims have a story that Tippoo was bent upon circumcising the men of Coorg because in defiance of his attack they danced naked on the walls of their forts. Several other fables regarding Hyder and Tippoo are current and deserve no notice.

(12) Tippoo called Mercara by the new name Zafabad. See Kirmani 2, 60.

Wooden fort,] the stockade at the Tonar pass where he heard that [Uttah] Naik then was. Here an action took place in the day time; and at night Uttah Naik fled with his people from the stockade, which Tippoo burnt down. Meantime Tippoo left Zein-ul-Abideen with a body of troops to command the stockade, and led his other forces through Periya Patnam and thence to Palahalli: where he encamped and sent his cavalry to graze.

28. In the year Crodhi (A. D. 1784) Tippoo sent Ghulam Ali Khan and Lutf Ali Begh (1) (Shahmur) as the bearers of jewels and a khillut and three Jacks of rupees to Mecca (2). They were to go by sea and to speak with the Emperor of Constantinople (3) [chepam Rum Sham Ki Padshah. 5] They took ship at Mangalore.

In the year Crodhi [1784] in the month Jyeshtha on the second day, Friday, Tippoo again entered the gate of Seringapatam.

29. In the month of Sravana of this year, Bala Macunda Dass who formerly was sent from Dindigul by Tippoo on a mission to Delhi returned and rejoined [Tippoo] bringing [presents from the Emperor at Delhi] a palankeen and mattresses and various gifts, and the [standards denominated the] Fish and the Maratib, &c. &c. He was brought to Tippoo's presence with princely honors and with all sorts of rejoicings, the (Naubat) royal drums and trumpets: he was lodged in the gate: a salute being fired in his honor from the walls.

30. Tippoo now settled all the country and seized on all the lands (agraharams) and livings (bhattavarti swasti) which had been bestowed on brahmins: he established a Revenue office to ascertain the facts concerning several livings (agraharams) and report on them. After full enquiry, some (bhattavarti maniams) clerical stipends were ordered to be sequestrated and others to be sanctioned: orders to this effect were issued throughout the country. The officers and clerks hitherto employed in the army were dismissed and new authorities were established.

31. In the year Viswavas [A. D. 1785] Tippoo made a tour for forty-five days. He marched through

Bangalore, Devanahalli, Chinna Balapuram and other towns: returning [to Bangalore].

He now heard that rebellion had broken out in Coorg. He therefore marched rapidly to Coorg which he entered by the Aigur pass. He seized upon men women and children, all he found; and sent them captives to Seringapatam [Wilks 2. 534 says that the prisoners were about 70,000.]

One Ramati had formerly made his escape; Tippoo at this time invited him back by (cowl) fair promises made him an asadullahi and appointed him (risaladar) Captain of [the Asadulahi cachetri] the corps of converts.

About five hundred souls men, women and children whom Tippoo caught in Coorg were all made (Asadulahi) converts and sent (captives) to Bangalore Seringapatam Chitradurgam Colaram and Hoss Cota and Nandidurgam (in different gangs).

32. In the year Crodhi (A. D. 1784) Raja Sham Raja Wadiyar (grand father of the rajah who was nominal king of Mysore in 1847) was married [apra tenkasa khatnabin kela]. He [Tippoo] circumcised his [own] son.

33. Burhan ud Din, and Mir Kaver ud Din were men of Savanoor. Tippoo gave them some troops and sent them to Naragund (4) (about 40 miles from Dharwar) which fort they conquered. They took prisoner the Commandant of the fort, Calappa (5) by name, and sent him, his wife and children captives to Seringapatam. Calappa "the Mirjman" was then sent to Cappal Droog where he died. His daughter was taken into the Sultan's Seraglio. This Calappa of Mirch was *viyanku* to Parasaram Bhao. [The phrase means, that the child of each had married the child of the other].

34. In the year Viswavas [1785] (6) month Phalgun, [Tippoo] set out on an expedition against Adhvani, Savanur, Bunkapur and other towns. He sent Nayak Singaya as a messenger to the Peshwa [at Poona] and to Mudaji Bhosaleh [at Nagpoor] who was on the part of the Peshwa.

35. The army Tippoo at this time commanded was 50,000 foot 10,000 asdulai and Ahmadi: likewise 20,000 (Silehdars) swordsmen: and 10,000 irregular

(1) In Kirk 264 the names of the Messengers to Constantinople are given. They are Ghulam Ali Khan, Lutfali Khan, Shah Noor Ullah Khan and Mohammedi Hanif.

(2) This name is evidently a mistake—I find no mention of this embassy in Wilks. For Mecca we should read Constantinople.

(3) They were bearers of a message to Meer Kasim Daroga of Muscat. Possibly this name is meant Kirkp. 282, 500; or it is Rum Sham ka Padshah.

(4) 'Nargund' as written in Kirkp. p. 21, 27, 29, 36, 41, 42, 49, 51, 56, 62, 71, 72, 80, 81.

(5) Calappa—whom Tippoo calls Kala Pandit—Kirkp. p. 67, 89, 114, 132, 133, 157, 161, 162 and Wilks, p. 538 of vol. 2.

(6) Kirkpatrick's Letters of Tippoo Sultan begin at this year in A. D. 1785 (17th February) and the latest letter is dated 14th February 1787.

cavalry and twenty thousand (chsham jawan) militia : with forty or fifty cannon.

36. [Tippoo] marched with this army against Adhoni (Adwani) : (1) He at this time sent a letter to the French, which accompanied with costly gifts such as Khillats, jewels, &c (2) to Europe by the hands of his head servant Mohammad Usman, and Imdad Ali Khan, paymaster of the Elephant corps, and Mohammad Parvash and others.

37. Tippoo besieged the town of Adoni ; but the assault was beaten back with a loss of many lives. Tippoo lodged in the town. At this time arrived Hari Pant Pharkiya who was sent by the Peshwa, and Tahavvar Jang, (3) who was sent by the Mogul : they brought a reinforcement of 60,000 horse to relieve the fort (4) The Sultan therefore broke up from his siege lines and drew back four miles from Adwani. Basu'at Jang's son Mahabut Jang who had been besieged in this place now set out with his family and property to Hyderabad. (Wilks 2 517).

38. On hearing that Adhoni was vacated [Tippoo] occupied [that place] he plundered the cannon and stores and he now took the name of Badshah, (5) This was in the year Viswvas [1785].

At this period Kutb-ud Din received the title Kutb ulmuluk Bahadur and was placed with a garrison in Adhoni.

Tippoo was now marching to Savanoor and halted at Gadaganath whence he (Tippoo) crossed the Tungabhadra (Toombodra) and attacked [the Peshwa] (6) the Maratas, who then retreated.

39. [Tippoo] then marched to Savanoor (7). The son of Hakim Khan of Savanoor had fled, whereupon Tippoo took and plundered the town stripping it bare.

Tippoo intended to make an attack by night upon the Mahrattas, at the anniversary of the Dasara feast

but as the day began to break (8) he entered off general action. The Peshwa [the marata] retired with his army to the Capota hill. The Sultan (Tippoo) sent a [naik] Captain [named Singolia ; see para 31] and Sadk Sivalla to confer with the Mahratta chief. He proposed that they should never again war against one another.

40. Then the Sultan broke the truce (9), for that night he made an assault. He plundered five hundred camels and horses and some bell tents and other baggage (10). Then the Badshah marched to Bahadur Bander (11) where he planted batteries and made an assault in which he conquered the fort. The Peshwa had in his employ several Arabs who fled with their arms. This place was commanded by Hama-na Naik and Tippoo had this man's legs cut off.

41. The Peshwa's army was halted in the neighbourhood of Gajendra gada (12) [Gajendergadh] and Tippoo again sent a message to him, by the hands of Ali Raza and Badizuman (13) Khan. They made Holcar their mediator and concluded a treaty, which determined that the sum of 60,00,000 of rupias (14) should be paid by Tippoo to the Peshwa (15). The Sultan paid half the sum [nisha] (16) by assignments upon Soucaris. Then [Tippoo] marched thence and came by the Chitradurg [Chittledroog] road and halted in the neighbourhood of Nairgul, and Bodanbali (17).

42. In the year Plavanga [1787] Tippoo vanquished Harpanhalli, Raddroog Havanur and other places : (18) he imprisoned the [poligars] barons of the places and their troops : setting guards in those towns. all the jewels and other plunder were seized, then he sent the baron of Harpanhalli to Capul Droog and put him to death there. The barons of Raddroog and Havanoor (19) and their followers were sent

(1) Siege of Adhoni. See Wilks 2, 517 and 518 Local Records vol. 2 p. 73 and 76

(2) See Kirkp. p. 10, Moh. Othman Khan and Moh. Darwesh &c. Wilks 539 says that the troops under Qamar ud Din were sent on this enterprise.

(3) Tahavvar Jang is the name—See Wilks vol. 2 page 556.

(4) See Kirkp. pages 320, 321.

(5) This is, Tippoo henceforth styled himself king. This was possibly intended, by Tippoo but we do not find that he was subsequently denominated Badshah See Wilks 2, 549 and 545.

(6) See Kirkp. p. 330, date 27th June 1780, also pages 388 and 126 date 1st October 1780 (note 22, p. 429)

(7) The author was probably absent from this affair : which he so briefly mentions. Wilks gives minute details. vol. 2, p. 552.

(8) Divas ugylat, i. e. day broke (Wilks 2, 551.)

(9) In his letters Tippoo expresses great scorn of the English for making a night attack. Here he makes one himself See Kirkp.

(10) Wilks p. 556.

(11) Bahadur Bander is near Martul a town north of the Krishna—W. Long. 76° 13' and N. Lat. 15° 13'.

(12) Wilks 557, 559 says out of this sum 15 lacs were deducted to recover damages of war. Thirty lacs were actually paid.

(13) Wilks 558.

(14) Wilks 2, 559.

(15) Here insert the English Druy printed in Kirk. 186, 190.

(16) Wilks 2, 559.

(17) These names are so written that they may be read Natger or Nager, and Bodan-bali.

(18) In the original this para is obscure.

(19) Wilks 2 500, 501.

some to Bangaloor and some to [Cappal] Droog while the wives and children of these three barons were sent to be in prison at Seringapatam.

43. Tippoo sent Chistyan Khan (1) and Punnaya and Nayak Singaya with some Infantry to Rai Droog sending also Kisuappa and Syed Mohammad Khan (of Hyderabad) and Nayak Govind Rao, to Harpanhalli. At each place the horse of the baron and that of his headman (Dalwai) were plundered. He next made prisoners of some inhabitants of Lochangood whom he sent prisoners to Seringapatam (2) there some of them were made converts.

He next marched from Bodanhalli to (Chittradug) Chittledroog, Harpanhalli, and Rai Durg: and on the 7th of bahula Sravana in the year [Plava A. D. 1781 error for Plavanga which is] A. D. 1787 he arrived at Seringapatam.

44. Tippoo broke down the ancient treasury gate of Seringapatam and the old fort of Mysore and built a new one named Nazrbahar (3). He also changed the denominations of the officials in the various military grades.

He divided the country into eighteen divisions and was much engaged in this work.

45. In the year Plavanga [A. D. 1787] month Phalguna, Suddha 3d Monday (4) Tippoo set out on an expedition to Calicut (5) marching through the mountain pass near Jamacherry. On arriving at Calicut, he ~~levied~~ ^{levied} contributions on Cota Agandi Chical [Cochin] Caduta Nadu and Conji and other conspicuous places: taxing the Nayers the Bramins and other classes from all of whom he exacted a forcible gift as *nazrana*: in all he levied twenty lacks of Rupees. He appointed Arshad Begh Khan to be (loujdar) Commandant and Collector. He placed Husen Ali Khan with a military force to exact the sum demanded and to keep the peace.

46. As Tippoo considered the old fort of Calicut untenable, he fixed on a place near Ramanagar (6)

near which he ordered a fort to be built which he named Farokhi (7). He ordered Jamal ud Din Aubid Khan (8) to command this fort.

As the rains were now commencing Tippoo went by rapid marches through Palghat to Combatores [Wilks 3, 8]. (9)

47. Mohammad Usman and the other messengers whom Tippoo had sent to France, while he was besieging Adhwan, now returned: [Seen para. 37.] They brought him positive letters assuring him of the sympathy of the French: and valuable presents and twenty-two artists and jewellery, and makers of fusils and cannon, woollen cloth, China sugar, watches &c.: there also came a physician who felt Tippoo Sultan's pulse and said "You are likely to become ~~more~~ ^{more} ill and your mind will be deranged." Those words enraged Tippoo who therefore sent him back. The rest of the Frenchmen were sent to [Seringa]patam (Wilks 3, 9.)

48. Tippoo was displeased with Arshad Begh Khan [whom he had just placed to command Calicut] saying that he had joined himself with the Mapallas (Moplas) and Nais (nobles of Malayala) whereupon he imprisoned Arshad Begh for ruining the government affairs (Wilks 3, 13).

49. Tippoo next marched to Dindigul where he reviewed the fort. He went to the house of Mir moim Moyed ud Dinand. He there accepted jewels, two [elephants, and] four horses: which he took as a ["Nazar"] gift [Wilks 3, 12] (11).

He next went to Gurva-Naick's [village named] Karpalliam and also sent troops against other [paligars] barons, all whose lands he plundered.

He then passed by the way of Dindigul, and came up the Gajalhatti pass: arriving at Seringapatam on Kataka [1788] Sravana Suddha 13 Thursday.

50. The army Tippoo had with him at this time

Farokhi.

(7) Farokhi is ~~certainly an error but the correct name is not known.~~

(8) "Husen Ali Khan" as shewn in the said letter from Tippoo—Tippoo ordered the dead as well as the living to be circumcised. Ibid Kirkp. p. 150 [As Ann Reg. XII. 386].

(9) Stuart, Appx. III page V says that the joint army of the French and the Mysoreans was headed by Tippoo and Brigadier General De Haufflisse.

(10) In December 1786 (kirk 455) Tippoo had ordered his ambassador to Paris to send him a physician a surgeon and an apothecary.

(11) At this period the Nizam ceded to the English the district of Guntoor.

(1) Kirkp. p. 81 Chistyan Khan.

(2) Doubtful Lochangooda.

(3) Manzar-abad in Kirman—who says Mercana was named Zafarabad.

(4) At this time [Kirk 166, 7] a holy shirt of the prophets was discovered at Cuddapah and lodged with other relics at Seringapatam. At the time [Duff 3, 38] the Maratas wished to enter into a league with the English but Cornwallis declined it.

(5) Here enter Bartolomeo page 111-112.

(6) It appears from Kirkpatrick's Letters of Tippoo, date 14th Dec. 1788, that on taking 'Farokhi' [Calicut] Tippoo ordered five hundred of the inhabitants to be hanged.

consisted of Infantry.....30,000
Cavalry.....10,000
Irregular Horse.....10,000 (1)
Militia.....10,000
and 20 Guns.

51. Four or five months Tippoo was residing at the garden of the palace called Darya-i Daulat [the ocean of prosperity] He lived by turns in the Fort [of Seringapatam] and in this garden.

52. News now arrived that the Nairs at Calicut were becoming rebellious: (2) wherefore, on [Kilaka 1788] Pashya Suddhi 13, Tuesday, Tippoo was setting out for Calicut (Wilks 3. 11.) at this moment (3) he heard of a rebellious movement in Coorg: and he therefore sent a force [in that direction] under the command of Burhan ud Din and Sayed Hamid. Tippoo himself marched through the Tamiachedi pass and halted in the neighbourhood of Ahmandanagar and Chakatur. Here he ordered some inhabitants to be drafted into the convents [Asadulahi]. He placed sayad Ghafar to command the place: he built a stockade. (Wooden fort.)

53. He sent Sheikh Imaum [Shihabud, that is,] Commandant, on in advance and directed him to destroy the god in Shamanna's pagoda [probably the pagoda built by Shamanna whom he had murdered] Then with his own army he marched from Ahmadnagar to Kurmanadu. He seized all the Nairs who were dwelling here and circumcised them. He broke down their temples and took possession of the fort and the village of Agidi Cotta, also Cherkul, and Cadtnad and other places. He caught the inhabitants of the villages and ordered they with the nairs should all be circumcised and let go. The baron of this town of Cherkul was Ravi Varma Raja (4) and Tippoo delivered the country to his care bestowing an elephant upon him [Wilks 3. 22].

54. This Raja [baron] (5) had by some means heard that Tippoo intended to circumcise him; whereupon he fled and joined the rebellious Nairs: he hid his dwelling in a forest of Palas trees. (6) Tippoo sent two [Kushnubai] (7) battalions of Infantry who came to the spot and captured him, the baron therefore shot himself and died. Yet still they would not let him off so easily. They brought the baron's corpse with them and smote it with spears and hanged it up (8) hanging four out of the Nairs who were his confederates. There were 2 or three brahmins who were drafted as [asadulahi] Convents [meaning, that, there were circumcised].

55. At Madana Katoor and vall Paramba &c. the pagodas were destroyed: and then summoning the Kazi [Mahomedan priest] Tippoo slew a [gohatya] cow in the pagoda. They plundered the place of money and all the gold, silver, copper, brass and other metals; all which he sent to [Seringa] patam.

Tippoo then marched to Kanara (9) where he made arrangements (10) to marry his son [Abdul] Khaliq (11) halib to the daughter of Balya Bibi. Learning that the boundary of the Tellicherry country was near that spot, he appointed Kadir Navaz Khan the general to hold a jaiish eachera (about 6000 men Wilks 3, 24,) and here he ordered all the remaining nairs and others to be circumcised. He then marched past Calicut (12) and arrived at Calicut.

56. There was a pagoda (13) to the god Venkateswara at Calicut; which was now demolished (14). One Haliz Farode Khan was come from Nizam Ali Khan at Hyderabad. He [Tippoo] spoke with this man: (15) and sent his [Tippoo's] son Kutub mulk with four hundred of his horse, accom-

(5) Wilks 3, 22 gives a different account. Tippoo's own story is in Kirkp. p. 203.

(6) Probably should be written 'Palasa' i.e. the tree Buta frondosa: hence the name 'Phusey.'

(7) Wilks, 3, 46 Says Two Companies of regular infantry.

(8) Wilks 3, 23.

(9) Canara—Wilks 3, 23 says Cannanore.

(10) Meant for Cannanore where Haliz Bibi was celebrated. Wilks 3, 23.

(11) More blunders in names. Khaliq rahib should be Abdul Khaliq Wilks 3, 23, and Akyi Ba should be Balya Bibi.

(12) The Mussulmans have a tradition that he circumcised the Nairs because in defiance of him the exhibited themselves naked on the batteries.

(13) The word 'Dewal' pagoda is not in the original; a blank is left for some word and probably pagoda is meant.

(14) Here is a blank in the original.

(15) Wilks 3, 26 who says "Haliz Farode ud Deen Khan."

(1) The numbers in Wilks 3. 40 are not so large "Regular infantry 20,000; efficient spearmen and matchlock men 10,000; horse 5000; field guns 20"

(2) In Tippoo's letters there is one dated 31st, December 1788; wherein he orders all the Mapillas that are caught to be hanged: regardless of their being muslimans.

(3) At this period (Duff 3. 40) the Nizam timidly sought the friendship of the English and with his usual duplicity at the same time requested the friendship of Tippoo. Tippoo expressed his willingness to consent on condition of an intermarriage of their families: but the Mogul haughtily rejected such a connection and the negotiation dropped.

(4) Kirkpatrick, page. 208 where Tippoo speaks this Warr Raja and These names Kirkp. passes as unknown to him.

panied by Ali Raza and Kutbud Din [the head spy] (1) and Naik Sada sivaya: all these &c. were sent by Tippoo to Hyderabad.

57 At this period while the said Hafiz Feroze Khan was present, there was a plot laid: (2) wherein were concerned Abul Khair Khan son of the Savanur Nabab and brother in law to Tippoo; also sayad Badr uz zaman Khan the Collector of Sivamaga (3) a part of Seringapatam and some others. The scheme was to slay Tippoo: who thereupon imprisoned Abdul Khair Khan in Seringapatam and sent the rest of the conspirators to Kapal Droog where they lay in prison.

But they escaped from the prison and were again caught by syed Mohammad Khan the ruler [Killedai] (4) of [Seringa] patam who put them to death.

58 In the year Saumya [1789 A.H. 1204] Aswija Bahula 12. The [Tippoo probably] set out from Coimbatore for Nidamcota with his army. The force was 20,000 regular horse [tabala] (5) and 5000 irregular cavalry and 10,000 swordsmen [asham] and 20 guns. He marched by the road of Anical (6) [this word means Elephant rock]. Here the sultan told an Elephant hunt and captured thirty six elephants: also wild buffaloes and elks. This was on the year Saumya [1789] Kartika Bah 11 Friday, he took a pregnant deer (7) and having staked it down by the legs (8) he commanded Poonea's children and others to sever its body at one blow.

59 After this he set out by the way of Paulghat and reached Triskeroo (9). Here he saw the great agoda of the god Venkat Ravana and other temples here he established [an A'saf Cachori] a revenue board. Then he laid a plan to change the Pagoda to a fort: he marched [from Triskeru] and encamped at the Villages of Talcand and Marcoon near

Nidimicota on the banks of the Cavery [The Talcand W. 3, 28 writes Travancore].

60 In the year Saumya [1789] Pushya Suddh 13 Tuesday he proposed to make an assault on Nidamcota. He marched all night and taking the mountain road because easiest he attacked the town and drove the people [a cosa] two miles before him and seized the fort. He then took 400 or 500 of the inhabitants and slew them. (10)

61. The Sultan wished to carry the war into the heart of the country. He gave the command of the war to Commandant Zaman Beg who fought gallantly. But the Nayars harassed him on three different sides, screening themselves in the forests. Tippoo's men suffered so much that they deserted him and fled from the field. He employed his men in levelling the fort walls (11) and filling up the ditch with the rubbish. (12) They were so hard pressed that they were obliged to retire through the breach they had made. Tippoo himself was forced to make his escape leaving [Wilks 3. 48 says that the lameness &c.] his palanquin behind him: and in the evening he arrived at his camp. (13) In this action Tarbiyat Ali Khan and Mahammad Tippoo, and Mahammad Umar the [Aiz-hegi] Usher and Jayamani Rao the clerk and others thirteen in all were missing: (14) two or three thousand of Tippoo's men also were killed. Out of the said thirteen, the last, Jayamani Rao reappeared three years after: the rest were not again heard of.

62. Tippoo therefore called in all the parties sent out to graze, and those who had gone on detachment to Coorg. With this force he arrived [at Nidimicota] and planted his batteries on all sides. He battered the fort (15) down: and in the year Sadharana [1790] Vaisakh Suddh purnimipad, Thursday, he made a second attempt against Nidamcota which he took by assault driving the enemy fully two miles before him. He slew all the men that fell into his hands. He here obtain-

(1) Harcara Daroga i. e. head man of the spy messenger department.

(2) Wilks knows nothing of this plot.

(3) Sheemooga is a part of Nagar or Bednoor.

(4) One of these was a poor Soldier named Scurry whose volume gives a sad picture of misery.

(5) The Tabala are the pagah or household cavalry. The Silledar are the feudal cavalry. The Hledar are the feudal cavalry who provide their own horses.

(6) Wilks 3, 40 calls it Anek maleh i. e. elephant rock—Anek cul. is elephant rock. The names are e.

(7) See Wilks vol. 3 page 40.

(8) Chaung maina tying the four feet of a goat together and then cutting it in halves at one blow of sword. At this place Wilks III. 40 is in error, *an moansin* Sanscrit a deer and also an elephant. Wilks wrongly gives the latter meaning.

(9) Triskeru—apparently the place which on a map is called Trichovaperoor a little north-east Cranganore.

10 Here enter Tippoo's letter dated 31st January 1790 ordering all the Nairs to be enumerated Asiat Ann Reg. XII. 390.

11 This is a confused account enough: the author being a servant of Tippoo was unwilling to describe his defeat: which is clearly told in Wilks 3, 46—48.

12 Wilks 3, 48 says this happened at Travancore. But Punganuri says it was at Nidimicota.

13 He arrived at his *Deori*. Is this an error for *Dora*, a camp? *Deori* would mean a gate. The place where the camp was is not named.

14 *Tera junch parau gum zhaley*; *aurdo teen hazar log garot hoee*.

15 On all sides of what fort? It seems to be Nidimicota. See Wilks 3, 49 gives the details of the interview with the emperor and the minister.

5. Hearing that [General] Meadows (1) was marching from Coimbatore and that a detachment of Bengal troops was approaching Caveripatnam (2) the Sultan sent a party commanded by Kamr ud Din Kan to repulse the English force commanded by General Meadows : while he Tippoo marched with a small force to attack the Bengal troops. He halted at Karungal. Three hundred of the troopers separated from the English army and were marching two miles a head : they were attacked by a party of Pindari (Bodor) horse who slew some of the English troops with their horses : the rest made their escape : fifty horse fell into Tippoo's hands. The English troops that were at Caveri patnam and Krishnagherry faced him and stood a long time ready for battle.

6. Just at this time heavy rain began to fall, and [the English troops] therefore retreated : and next day General Meadow's troops, who were all at Coimbatore, went up the Tapur pass to join the guard sent in advance to Caveripatnam. On hearing of this, Tippoo retired to Sattah Maran halli which is a little off the high road [See Wilks III. 99.] while Meadows joined the troop sent on to Caveri patnam and halted at Dharampuri.

7. Tippoo Sultan (3) heard of this : he took his forces further on, with a view to marching through the Topoor pass : he put himself at the head of his troops and marched to near Adamoota : leaving his baggage with the rear guard. The English army hung on his rear ; which therefore joined the main body. (4) Then the Sultan turned towards Pinagar [Wilks III 102] and in the Topoor pass some balls were exchanged [date 14th Nov. 1790].

8. After going through Topoor pass the Sultan was pursued by the English who were always one march behind him (fasilah). Mir Kamr ud Din's troops now joined the Sultan. Then they said, the English shall no longer remain here ; [or, there is no use in remaining there.] The English guard being beaten out of Pennagar : he (Tippoo) left a detachment there to garrison the fort and marched to Tirunamalie ; he fired a few [four] shots [at this fort which] thereupon surrendered. He then marched to Tupatur where the Commander was Srinivas Rao the Cow-Killer

whom he hanged. Tippoo next took the [fort of] Porama callu, where he made a prisoner of the [du] basl [interpreter Tyag Raz Modli] whom he sent a prisoner to [Serunga] patam : releasing the rest of the Soldiers, &c.

9. At this time the English force commanded by Lord [Corn] Wallis having come up the ghats and encamped near Bangalore. From this town he removed all his valuable property to [Serunga] patam. He removed the original commandant [Killedar] of Bangalore (5) named Sayad Per and in his place appointed Bahar Khan to be the new Killadar ; placing some infantry and some irregulars there he appointed Mohammad Khan as General.

10. The English force now came [to Bangalore] took the Suburbs, and fired into the citadel : entering on war against the fort. Tippoo Sultan took some guns and a body of troops with him ; and took up a station at the Maharnomi Mantap : (6) he fled at the English and at night Tippoo returned to his quarter.

11. Next day he took up a position near the pagoda of Kasara. The English Cavalry (7) came within sight, and Tippoo's irregulars and Baida. and attached them [Tippoo's troops] who fled. Then in the year Sadharana [1790] Phalguna Bahula 2d Monday night the English made an assault on Bangalore fort and took it. (8) The [Killedar] Commandant of that place Bahadar Khan (9) Mohammad Khan commandant of the regular and irregular infantry and others were slain. Kishen Rao, clerk of the Jeysh Kachehri (10) was taken prisoner [by the English.]

12. Next day the Sultan set out with his army and marched to Anikull, where he halted. He now sent letters to Hyderabad : by the hand of Mahdi Ali Khan.

He also sent to the English a message (11) by the hand of Appaji Ram and Diler Dil Khan. He now met the English troops at the Village of Elavacca and after a cannonade Tippoo went and halted at

(1) General Meadows began his march from the Cavery on 10th November 1790. See Wilks III. 99.

(2) This is confirmed by Wilks III. 98.

(3) Wilks III. 99. he writes Tapoor for Topoor. These occurrences at the river are but briefly noticed in Kirmani.

(4) Whenever Tippoo is defeated this historian's style becomes obscure : like that of Hazlitt and Thiers when truth forces them to acknowledge Napoleon defeated.

(5) Wilks 3. 122.

(6) That is, the choultry or lodge where the ceremonies are held on the anniversary of the Sivaratry, feast—"Maha-navami.

(7) This was the party sent out to cover the Engineers in reconnoitring the country. See Sir Thomas Munro's Life vol. I. page 114.

(8) Date 21st March 1791 Wilks III. 127-131.

(9) This passage is not clearly worded—indeed the whole paragraph is obscure.

(10) Jeysh Kachehri may mean the treasury.

(11) Wilks III. 183. date 27th March 1792.

Tema-gundla. This happened in year Virodhierit 1791] Chaitra month (21).

13. Tippoo now laid a plan to send to Chittledroog fort all the members of the family (22) who were now at Seringapatam; and his treasury and the wives and children of his chief servants. He despatched (23) Kishan Rao (the treasurer) and Asaf Mir Mohammad Sadik to Seringapatam to collect palankeens, doolies, &c., to execute this plan. They accordingly went and made all ready but he countermanded this. At this time he destroyed the bridge at Somwaripotta near Seringapatam.]

11. He then marched [from Anika] his troops towards Mulbagal. On arriving near Rahimabad [he learnt that] the treasurer named Bhujang Rao, with his brother Kishan Rao and Ram Rao junior and others had league with the English. He summoned them from Chintamampotta, held a hasty (26) [panchayat] investigation (27) on them and hanged up all three brothers by the neck.

15. After this time the whole army of the Mogul [meaning Nizam Ali Khan] [or people of Hyderabad] arrived at Mulbagal and the united force [vizt. those of the Nizam and English] bringing their stores and supplies with them arrived at Bangalore. On hearing of this, Tippoo Sultan turned aside from the road to Mulbagal and halted at Sondacoppa.

Mir Mohin ud Din was encamped four miles off with some troops.

(21) The following is translated from a Canaresse statement found in volume 712—"In former days the Nawab Bahadar had conquered Chitradurgam: A man named Nadig Laxmanna of Kallibettu and his son had given much aid to Tippoo: wherefore Tippoo bestowed on them honorary dresses and gave them a written warrant, bestowing on Laxmanna all the powder, ball and other military stores belonging to Santa Bennur which had been carried away by the Chitradurga garrison: he also gave this man three great guns on carriages which were brought from Billroda: these were placed in the 'batteries' of Santa Bennur. This [Laxmanna] ruled [Santa Bennur] for seven years from Paridhavi (1711 i.e. A. D. 1792) to Kalayucti 1720 (A. D. 1798).

(22) The original is so loosely worded that it may be Tippoo's own family: It seems that he *did* send his own family to Chittledroog.

(23) Wilks III. 139.

(24) The passage is not clear. Probably this bridge was destroyed because had the English invaded the town it might have given them a road.

(25) Chair wajibi panchayat Karoon. Equivalent to a drum head court martial.

(26) Here the word *three* shows a mistake in the original Mahatta Manuscript: where he says, "he summoned the treasurer Bhujang Rao and his brothers Kishan Rao and Ram Rao junior and hanged all three.

(27). Wilks III. 142

16. There was a slave named Ramudu the clerk of the [Asudalai Caoheri] convert department. This Ramudu wrote a treasonable [fitu] letter to the English and sent it by the hand of a brahman. But he fell into the hands of Mir Moim ud Din's guard and this Ramudu was sent to the Sultan with the letter. On hearing the letter read Tippoo found it (27) mentioned Sheshagiri Rao, elder brother of Kishan Rao the treasurer was an accomplice herein. Thereupon he put Ramudu on his panchayat trial and as he confessed he put him to death by dragging him at the foot of an elephant. He sent troopers to apprehend Sheshagiri Rao but he fled and made his way to [Seringa]patam: where likewise Kishan Rao was. Tippoo wrote letters to Syed Mohammad Khan the Commandant of Seringapatam directing him to slay Kishan Rao and his brother Sheshagiri Rao and others: the commandant hereupon apprehended Sheshagiri Rao, Kishan Rao, Ram Rao, Balappa and Bachappa. (28). The two first of these he killed and he kept the others in prison. After some days he plundered the house of Ram Rao (29) of all his wealth, and slew him and Balappa (30).

17. Before arriving near Shondah Coppah Tippoo marched to Little Balapoor. he took the fort of Balapoor: (31) here were five hundred peons [Spear-men] in the employ of the [paliga] baron this baron and his men surrendered themselves on the faith of the promises of Mir Mohin ud Deen. But he cut off their hands and feet and let them go.

18. Then Tippoo marched into the neighbourhood of Sondah Coppah, and marching thence on [Bhanwar, Virodhierit (32) Vaisakha Suddha pauchami] 1791 he again arrived at the garden "Darya Daulat" (33) [the palace of Seringapatam.]

The following is the number of his army at this time.

(28) Bache Rao, subsequently chief revenue superintendent of Cudapah where I was acquainted with him in 1820-1826 Wilks speaks of him but does not mention this story.

(29) Here written Ramaya: but it is probable that the aforementioned Ram Rao is intended.

(30) Such wholesale slaughters of friends and connections remind us of the behaviour of Caligula at Rome—Gibbon in A.D. 212 and 213. Elliott's *Horae Apocalypticæ* vol. 1 p. 169.

(31) Wilks III. 134-135 date 11th April 1791.

(32) Regarding year virodhierit see Telugu account in M.S. vol page 63.

(33) "Darya-i-dowlat" is the name of the country house or garden in the island, outside the walls. The great palace is within.

Asud ulai, with Ahmadi (31)..... 0000 (35)
 Horse both regulars and irregulars..... 20,000
 (Ahsham piade) Militia..... 10,000
 Cannon, large and small forty nine.

19. Ten days after this on Wednesday the eighth of the same fortnight, Tippoo again marched towards Mingua where he pitched his tents, and on the next Sunday the English army marched from Ariketi (36) and arrived at Karighat 'Black rock' where a battle took place wherein many English fell. On the side of the Sultan Hasan Khan Khatel was taken prisoner [by the English]. He had suffered a wound: which the English bound up: they placed him in a palankeen and sent him to the Sultan. On the Sunday 13th Monday the English (37) soldiers descended the great rock for the purpose of taking Carighat: they opened their fire on the place. The troops of the Sultan and those of Lally (38) suffered much. Of the English many fell and then they turned and went behind this great hill.

20. The Sultan had erected a "battery beyond the river and near Somwarpeta. He slew Ram Rao, and Balappa and Rama Rao (of A'skar) and others. He also slew Narasaya (of A'safecota): and Raghanender Naik the money dealer: and Venecappa Naik [of Anigondi] and Venentes Deo, and Venenti Dass and Sankar setti [the merchant] and Krishna Rao of Dharwar: and Timmo [Ganda] the chief of the little Balapoor: also Timma Appaya of Eladur, and Raja Ram Chender of Bangalore: with his brother Venent Narayan: he also slew the sons of the various rich barons which sons he already had safe in prison.

21. Then on Saturday the eighteenth of the month vaisakh (39) Tippoo gave ten thousand men under the command [of Mir Moïn ud Deen who was accompanied by Singaya [Naik] the de-

puty' (40) they were sent to Periapatam to intercept the English troops on their way there. This detachment started: but the English being unable to keep their ground took their way to Coorg: leaving the guns and heavy baggage behind. Tippoo's troops pursued them some miles and took some prisoners: these they brought to [Serlinga] patam.

22. Tippoo hereupon fired a salute in token of rejoicing. He heard that thirteen of the English horse Artillery (41) guns with three big guns were left behind at Kanvadi by the English, and tumbrils of gunpowder were blown up; that the cannon balls, load for bullets and other stores were buried by the English who had retreated by the mountain path. That the troops of the Nizam, with the English were looking out for the aid of the [Mahatta] Peishwa: and that in the evening the English and the Nizam reached Erodu: where the Mahatta commanded by Paras Ram Bhao joined the English.

23. These particulars were brought to the Sultan on Monday the 27th. Tippoo now sent a present of fruit &c. accompanied by his [choldar] herald Abdul Kadir to Lord Cornwallis the Commander of the English troops encamped at Erodu [French rocks] and also sent a camel man whose camel had died [the English] gave this man another camel, and sent him back (42) The fruits and other things were delivered to Lord Cornwallis and the bearers returned to their master. Then the three allies marched thence by the Bangalore road.

24. On (43) year Virodhiorit [1791] Sivana Suddha, 5, he [Tippoo] set out from [Serlinga] patam and encamped at Settihalli: on the 8th Sunday, he ordered a hunting party: and made Sango Pandit [who was sent by the Mahattas:] mount an elephant and accompanied him to the plain of Nilmany (44) where he hunted a tiger and then returned.

25. On Saturday the 10th the Sultan came home to Seringapatam and entered the Nazr-i babar bagh. On the 15th Tippoo summoned prince Fath Hyder who

(34) Assdulah seems to be Tippoo's phrase for picked troops, kept as his body guard (Ahmadi) to secure his prisoners: whom he insultingly styles "Converts." In Tippoo's Letters No. XI (As Ann Reg. 1799. p 170 of suppl.) the word Asad Ilahi [there printed Assud Ellauhee] is applied to a ship and seems equivalent to Royal, or such: it is used to denote noble or excellent.

(35) In the Mahatta manuscript the writer seems to have written 00,000 and then to have blotted out one cypher.

(36) Arikera See Wilks III. 145 date May 1791.

(37) Wilks III 217: date 5 February 1792.

(38) Lally's troops, meaning the French Auxiliaries.

(39) This date is stated in Hindu phrases but with a Musulman reckoning.

(40) Naik is strictly a subaltern but that word would not give the true sense.

(41) 'ghoi-top' horse artillery 13 pieces, See Wilks 3 157.

(42) This occurrence is omitted in Thornton II 458 but merited notice being a compliment proffered and refused.

(43) This passage is so oddly worded that the meaning is obscure.

(44) The name looks like Lonnani but more probably Nelamane.

had been sent from Norukei with a small party to attack Balwant Rao 'Toko walla' then encamped at Madikeri; the prince therefore rejoined Tippoo with his detachment; [and reported that] he had defeated Balwant Rao: two hundred of whose cavalry he brought as prisoners: though Balwant Rao himself escaped.

26. This Fattah Hyder (45) [Tippoos' oldest son] next marched to Gurram condra with some troops: he besieged that fort and seized Haffz Badr uddin Khan the Mogul [this name is not clearly written] whom he slew. He then defeated the troops of the Rajah of Cabandar: he seized all the elephants and horses: he placed all their arms and stores in Gurram-condra and then returned to the Sultans army.

27. On the date Aswija Bahula Pratipad the Sultan marched from Seringapatam and halted near Kergur. He sent a detachment under Mohammad Raza to Chonnagiri (48) and to oppose Parasaram Bhao.

28. In Coimbatore there was a battalion commanded by Chalmers (49). Tippoo sent Mir Kamr ud Din Khan with his troops to seize the place. In obedience to this command he beset the place, took his captain and his wife and children captive, and brought them to Seringapatam where they were put in prison, all his property being delivered to the Government. Tippoo had sent Mir Kamr ud Din Khan with a force to Nagar [Bednoie]. He now recalled his force, and placed it at Nasir Bahar name of the Seringapatam fort.

29. Lord Cornwallis and the Moguls had marched from Bangalore and were encamped, near [Seringapatam]: the Sultan with his army having halted near Murgul where they placed batteries.

30. At this time (year Virodhierut A. D. 1791 in Magha Suddha purnomi Tuesday) the English who were on the hill of Erradu (French rocks) made a night assault on the Sultan's army: and all the Sultan's army fled. On this day the (Asdulai Ahmadi) 'Converts' seized at Coorg and other places, with

the (Neze Cardar) lancers, ten thousand in number fled. (50) and escaped with their weapons to Coorg.

31. The Sultan had come to the Mysore gate [of Seringapatam] and called his troops together. The English took the (thanna) station of (51) [Shahi] Ganjam where Tippoo had placed in irons, (52) the various soldiers whom he had taken prisoners at Seringapatam: all of these were now released and they joined the English force.

32. On the eleventh of that month, in the morning Tippoo was in the mosque which is at the Mysore gate [of Seringapatam.] A detachment of the English came from Mysore. [See Wilks 2. 241. date 22 Feby 1792] They crossed the river at Ketanahalli and came to the plain near Palahalli. Sayad Ghaffar's battalion, and Mir Kamr ud Din's troops fought [against the English] until evening when each army kept its ground.

33. Mir Kamr ud Din Khan had formerly taken prisoner a certain English Officer named Chalmers [Wilks III 231 in the manuscript it is written Saumbai] and kept him in Seringapatam: he was now released with his wife and children presented with a khilut and was sent to Lord Cornwallis. He promised Tippoo to use his influence and endeavours to effect a peace: and recommended that three letters should be written and enclosed in bags of tissue: one addressed to Lord Cornwallis, one to Musher ul Mulk [minister to the Nizam] who is also called Salabat Jang, brother to the Nizam: and the third to Haidi Pant Pharkia [minister to the Pasheva]: that these should be sent by the hands of Chicea Sheshayn and Mohammad Ali the macebearer: he stated that His Lordship doubtless would accept the letter addressed to himself, and send the other two to their directions. Tippoo adopted this measure. His Lordship took the letter addressed to himself and sent the other two in conformity to their Superscriptions.

34. After awhile the Sultan sent Ghulam Ali Khan and Subao and Nayac Saugana and Malval Sri Nivas Rao and the head mace-bearer Mohammad Ali and others, along with Ali Raza, to conclude the

(45) The author here uses his favourite obscurity and it is not clear whom he means. See Thornton vol. II 456. Duff III 60.

(46) Haffz jee. This name properly is [Wilks 3 200.] Haffz Faiz ud Din Khan. Here it was written Darodi Khan.

(17) This seems to be meant for Bandar, a sea Port.

(48) Here enter [Duff 3. 60] Captain Little's heroic victory 29 December 1791 at Gajnar; Moor's Little p. 150.

(49) The name meant is Chalmers. [Wilks III 231.] In the Mahratta it is written Saumbai.

(50) Wilks III 228 7th February 1792

(51) The author means, those who were imprisoned at Seringapatam, of which city chinnu Ganjam is a suburb.

(52) Wilks III 235. About the period (see Curry page 380) Tippoo abolished the European words of command and military music, reinstating the Turkish music and words of command. Compare chap. I section 75.

pees. It was agreed that (three crores and three lacks) (300,300,000) of Rupees should be paid [by the Sultan] to the conquerors, and that half the kingdom should be surrendered. Out of this some one crore must be paid immediately.* And two of [Tippoo's] sons must be given in pledge until the residue of the money should be paid. These sons were Khaliq Sahib and Muz ul Mu Sahib; along with whom went persons named Ghulam Ali Khan and Ali Raza and Nayao Singaya: who went as their suit.

In the year Pandhavi, month Chaitra, Suddha 5 [8th March 1792] Lord [Corn] wallis received these noble hostages: then he set out with them and proceeded by the road that goes through Madduri Chennapatam,

35 While at Seringapatam Tippoo increased the Government duty at the rate of six fanams in the pagoda (53) [see Wilks III. 255. The Kanthirai gold pagoda contains ten silver fanams. Thus Tippoo exacted six tenths of each man's wealth] in addition to the original revenue.

He also received from all his servants whether Hindu or Musulman proportionable gifts, through his ministers Mir Mohammad Sadiq and Purnaya.*

36 In the year Pramadicha (1793) Tippoo proposed to build a fort of which he laid the foundations [He repaired the Fort of Seringapatam, Wilks III. 282-3.] [The Mahratta historian has hitherto given his dates according to the Hindu Almanac: he now begins to use the Musulman method wherein the date is reckoned from 1st to 28th.]

In the year Pramadicha on the 28th day of Phalgun, he marched to Devanhally where he halted [Wilks III. 288] His sons who had been sent to Madras as hostages were restored to him by Captain Doveton: who also brought Ghulam Ali Khan, Ali Raza and Singaya. He was introduced to the Sultan, who in year Ananda [A.D. 1791] gave him a Khilat and jewels and dismissed him [Enter Stewart, 79 note.]

[From this place the historian writes only brief

(53) That is to say 50 per cent: see Sir T. Munro's memoirs p. 234.

[* Strange that so careful a historian should err in a matter so familiar to him. Wilks III. 211 says. Three crores and thirty three lacks of Rupees: of which sum one half was to be paid down.]

(54) The people of the Dahilya sect avoid using double names: they use such names as Mahdikhan, Ghalib khan, Khasim khan, they avoid double names as Abdul Mohammad, or Hasan Alikhan or Hussein Navaz khan.

memoranda. The affair here alluded to is described in Buch. Hamilton vol I, p. 330, 331 "On the arrival of Lord Cornwallis the Raja of Balapoor was reinstated &c.]

37 The Sultan then marched to Balapoor and to Nandigada, where he kicked the [image of the] goddess [named Prasanna Parvati] and broke her statue. He ordered the Killadar (Commandant) to lodge himself in the pagoda.

38 He then proceeded through Penagonda, to the fort of Paogada and then marched back. On this occasion he changed the names of every fort whether on hill or plain. On passing Madgiri in coming through the pass the Sultan had a fall and hurt his leg.

39 Sayed Mohammad Khan who was commandant of the fort of Seringapatam was falsely accused to the Sultan that this man with the atheists ~~had~~ had leagued to seize possession [of Seringapatam] [see Wilks III 290-291] Hereupon the Sultan set out, he took Mahlab Khan and the son of Mir Khair Ullah: these two he put in guard: and deprived all other [accused persons] of their horses and drove them out of his realm, then he returned to Seringapatam, on Ananda Vaisakha bahula vidhya [1794]

40 The Sultan at present had ten thousand horses, five thousand foot and twenty guns.

41 Then Tippoo took away the title Mir Alira which he had bestowed on Syed Mohammad Khan the Atheist [*dairah wala*] who was Commandant of Seringapatam imprisoning him and all other atheists whether they were in the service or not he turned them all out of his country.

42 Ghulam Khan had come from Cunnool as an ambassador: though he also belonged to the (Daira) Atheists. He was kept four months in Tippoo's presence and then dismissed, his salary being paid up. Tippoo took Mahlab Khan and others and sent them away with passports.*

In the year A'nanda [A. D. 1794] Magha Suddha full moon, the Sultan celebrated the marriage of his son Fatih Hyder.

43 The Srimant [that is, the Peshwa] sent from Poenah a Khilat (55) and jewels by the hand of Ra-

[* See Ham Buch 2. 190 Pope Gregory styled such extortions benevolences: Charles the first called them *loans*. Regarding June 1792 see A. A. R. IV 131. Here enter Scourry's Memoir.]

[* Dairi-t mahda corrupted from [*dwala*], (51) madavi. See Herklots p. 13. 11.]

(55) The word khilat seems to be misapplied in this passage.

ghunath Rao chief of the chamberlains: and, on his taking leave, a Khillat* and jewels were presented to him. Along with him Tippoo sent Chicca Sheshaya and Nayac Ahmad Khan: sending four elephants and various jewels and a Khillat to be presented to his Highness the Srimant (Polshwa) and Nana Farnavis (his premier) and others.

44. In the year Ananda [A.D. 1791] month Sravana these occurrences happened. In Bishno Pandits troop there originally was a trooper named Dhonji Wahag [See Wilks III. 293] He quitted that troop, and collecting ~~a band of~~ freebooters, he did great mischief in Dharwar and other parts of the Mahratta country. He collected much plunder; he advanced money to his troops; and mustered nearly a thousand horse: and some foot. The Mahrattas sent a force to quell him: but he sent a messenger to the Sultan to say "I am your old servant: I pray you to support me." The Sultan granted him a safe conduct, and he arrived at the sultan's presence with five hundred horse. The Sultan supplied him with tents and other requisites and made him halt his troops beyond the river. The sultan also gave him a dinner: and inviting him alone into the fort gave him assurances of friendship.

45. The Sultan in his heart intended to make him a Musulman: but the man refused [to be circumcised]: wherefore the Sultan, in defiance of right, caught and imprisoned him, and made him a musulman [that is, circumcised him] and placed him in prison: granting him a stipend of one pagoda a day, with clothing; giving him the name Shekh Mohammad and ordering him to be taught to read the Koran by a tutor.

Tippoo seized and plundered all Dhonji's followers and cut off the nose and ears of the (diwan) head man in Dhonji's employ: which caused the man's death (Wilks 3, 295). Until [Tippoo's] death Dhonji was kept prisoner and then escaped.†

46. In the Year Ananda (A. D. 1794) on the 21th of Phalgun Tippoo celebrated the wedding of his son Khaliq Saheb.

In the year Raxasa (A. D. 1795) he celebrated the marriages of the princesses his sons Sultan Mohi ud Din, and Moiz ud Din (Wilks III, 301, 302).

Chicca Sheshaya and Ahmad Khan who had been sent to Poonah returned (to Seringapatam, (1)).

* A khillat is a robe of honour: a handsome present, in jewels, shawls, &c.

† Regarding Dhonji see index to Thornton and ib. III. 118.

(1) Tippoo increased the taxes like Caracalla and we reduced them like his successor Severus. See Gib-

In the year Nala (A. D. 1796) Tippoo took to wife the daughter of Sayad Saheb. On this occasion presents were bestowed on all his servants. (Wilks III. 302.)

47. The Sultan then set out on a tiger hunt. He went to Tippiur.

At this time (Musa Raimun François) Monsieur Raymond (2) the Frenchman, and Monsieur Paicar and a young Englishman arrived at Mangalore. Through the Asif [a word substituted by Tippoo for Amil, local officer] they offered a ship to the Sultan which he purchased. [Wilks 3, 333, but he does not mention these names.]

When these two officers were to be introduced to Tippoo, he sent three French Officers (who had been in his service under Monsieur Lally,) to escort them (respectfully) and lodge them in Lally's garden (3). One of these was sent to Europe as the bearer of a letter: the other was kept awhile in the garden of Tippoo's palace. He sent this man with Mir Yusuf Ali, the head courier, and two other respectable men, to Mangalore. Of these Mir Yusuf Ali returned and the rest went to France.

48. In the year Pingala (A. D. 1797) on the date Vaisakha Suddha 6, prince Mohammad Ali Khan son (lenk) of the king of Persia had an interview with Tippoo Sultan. He was entertained for seven months as a guest, and resided at (Chianna) Ganjam. He was granted two thousand (pagodas?) to meet his travelling expenses and he embarked at Mangalore and went home.

49. In this year on the 27th of Magha the Sultan set out taking with him four battalions (kushoons) and four pieces of Artillery. He marched through

bon's Rome, (end of chapter VI.) and Elliott on Apocalypse, I. 156. Had the English had to struggle with the original Hindu institutions, the task would have been interminable. But (happily for us) the Musulmans, (especially Hyder and Tippoo) broke down all the immunities of Bramins with a rod of iron; those very institutions which were likely to impede and frustrate good government were crushed. The iron heel of the Moslem destroyed the ancient tyrannies, and left to the English the less odious task of constructing a government on principles more equitable and humane.

(2) The tomb of Raymond is at Hydrabad. It appears that, while he was Commandant of the French force at Hydrabad, he opened a secret correspondence with Tippoo (Beatson, p. 217. note.)

(3) See Wilks 3, 351 where Tippoo seems to have jumbled two stories. The French narrative is printed in the Asiatic Annual Register; 1790; Supplement; p. 220 date 22d May 1797. In the next page (p. 221) of the same book is another fable of high mass (performed in the parish church at Seringapatam: where as Tippoo would gladly have circumcised all the Frenchmen.

the villages of Kauhandi, Belagodu, Great Madan-halli, Sosula, and Talacadu &c. He surveyed the canals and ordered the requisite repairs.

At this time some caravans of fresh horses arrived from Mangalore: the Sultan viewed them and sent them to Seringapatam.

50. The Sultan then sent his tents and four troops of cavalry to Tonoor: he came to that place (Wilks III. 306—307 and Bu Hamilt. II. 83) and ordered the artificial lake to be destroyed. He returned home again in a week. Then in like manner he destroyed the lake at Errode (since called French Rocks) and returned home.

51. Next year, Kalayueti (1798) in the month Jyeshtha the Sultan marched to Nelmanah and assembled all his army sending for all the (*asifs*) deputies and clerks. He raised the rents on the farmers and sent the Collectors and Managers to their departments.

52. In the year Calayueti (1798) adhica Sravana a Frenchman named Monsieur Chapuis and others arrived at Mangalore with ninety seven *soldats*. Tippoo sent Hasm Ali Khan and Miza Bagir Begh and other gentlemen to escort them: with cavalry commanded by Nayac Narayanappa. On the arrival of these Frenchmen at Seringapatam Tippoo employed them.

53. Tippoo gave one year's pay to two of these officers: and to two Soldiers: and also to a clock-maker named Dubois (Dooboy) who settled at Seringapatam. He sent them with a message to the (French) Governor of Mauritius; accompanied by Abdur Rahman, Hedayat ulia Khan (4) Abdul Qadir, Nayac Chioea Sheshaya (i. e. Captain Sheshaya junior) and two other gentlemen of the Persian office. He entrusted them with a letter and jewels to be presented to the Governor. Sheshaya accompanied them as far as Maroor and then to Tanakbadi (Tanquebar) The abovementioned two Soldiers were taken prisoners by the English near Trichinopoly.

(4) Bentson (p. 187.) shows that at last there were only two persons; Husein Ali Khan, and Mohammad Ibrahim; but the same page calls them Bismilla and Abdur Rahim. In Local records X. 174 a Bismilla Sahab is said to have been at Cuddapa with Hahim Khan. See Annual Register, 1798, 'Chronicle' p. 255.

54. The Sultan next marched from Nelmanah (5) to the fort (of Seringapatam). In the month of Kartica Tippoo sent messengers named Fakr ud din and Mh Mian, who with Ahmad Khan of the Bank chief of the Merchants, and Narayan aya junior, of Little Nayac halli, and Narayan aya the courier, (of Sancaraiapatam) were sent by Tippoo to carry a present of money and jewels to Poonah.

55. After these things [General Lord] Harris Bahadur (6) came with his army marching up the mountain passes: Tippoo hearing of this, marched on the 10th of Magha to Cuddur in the Bellur district, where he halted. [Wilks 3, 385.] He sent all his horse, foot and guns to Hulidurga (Tiger-fort) under the command of Mir Moyin ud Din and Purnaya and other nobles.

Then a report arrived that the English were marching into the Coorg territory.

56. In the year Siddharti (A. D. 1799) in the month of Chaitra, on the third day after full moon (9) the English army came from Madras and slew Tippoo Sultan: they captured Seringapatam and enthroned Kishun Ray Wodeyar. They appointed Purnaya to be his Minister while Jaya Muni the (*mutsaddi*) clerk was made Governor of Seringapatam.

THE END.

(5) Tippoo's troops were beaten by the Coorg warriors. See A. An Reg. 1800 p. 7. Tippoo's 200 men commanded by Mir Mohammad Ali at Bantwall and Puroomba were beaten by Kallima Poddana and Boopoo. See Fifth Report p. 124 regarding these events.

(6) Sir T. Munro 1, 230 says that the right wing of the English army entered Tippoo's country on the 6th March 1799, the left wing of the 7th and the reserve on the 8th.

(7) In this passage the pronouns are so far confused that it is not easy to guess which person is meant.

(8) Musa Shafee is written in the original for Mons. Chapuis. Wilks 3, 313. See Bentson 183. At this time the English made a treaty with the Nizam who thereupon disbanded his French troops.

(9) That is, 4th May 1799. In the Asiatic Annual Register vol. 2. (July 1799) page 10, it is mentioned that when Seringapatam fell, Tippoo Sultan's only brother, Kareem Sahob, was in irons in a dungeon. He had languished in this condition for many years. This was caused by an unfounded fit of jealousy which Tippoo had conceived against him.

THE END.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Mahratta historian's plain unvarnished tale being concluded, I think some apology is required, regarding the rude abrupt style he uses. I could easily have smoothed his language, but an exact transcript is perhaps the most trustworthy.

A recent publication entitled "Our Eastern Empire; by Charles MacFarlane," (London 1848,) gives a clear and excellent sketch of the history of Hyder and Tippoo. Mr. Gleig's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, contains several animated and exact details of the same events.

I will conclude the memoirs with a document printed in the appendix (page CI,) to Colonel Benson's history of the War with Tippoo Sultan, 4to, London, 1800.

"Several particulars relating to the conduct of Tippoo Sultan on the 4th of May, 1799; collected chiefly from the relation of the Killadar of Seringapatam, and from Accounts given by his own servants, &c.

"When the Sultan left his palace he was dressed in a light coloured jacket, wide trousers of fine flowered chintz, a sash of a dark red silk stuff, and a turban, with one or two ornaments; he had on his sword, in a rich belt, slung on his right shoulder, and a small cartridge box, hung to an embroidered belt, thrown over his left shoulder; his *tawuz*,* or talisman, was fastened under the jacket, on his right arm, a little below the shoulder. He went out early in the forenoon, as was his custom daily, to one of the cavaliers on the outer rampart of the north face, whence he could observe what was doing on both sides, and remained there till about noon; when he took his usual repast under a pandal.† It would appear he had then no suspicion of the intended attack; for when reports were made to him, from the west face, that our parallels and approaches were unusually crowded with Europeans, and a number of Doolies behind, he expressed not the least apprehension, nor took any other precaution; but desiring the messenger to return with orders to Meer Goffar, with the

troops on duty near the breach, to keep on their guard. A moment after, word was brought that Meer Goffar had fallen near the breach by a cannon shot. At this intelligence, the Sultan greatly agitated, ordered the troops that were near him under arms, and his servants to load the carbines, or short fuzes, which they carried for his own use. He then, after receiving another report, which was received privately, hastened along the rampart towards the breach, followed by servants, slaves, and a select guard, under several chiefs, till he met the fugitives, and perceived that the head of the Europeans had already mounted and gained the rampart; he endeavoured to stop his flying troops, and joining many of these to his own guard, encouraged them by his voice and example to make a determined stand: he repeatedly fired on our troops himself; and one of his servants declares he saw him bring down several Europeans near the top of the breach. Notwithstanding these exertions, when the front of the European flank companies (of the left attack,) approached the spot where the Sultan stood, he found himself almost alone, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north rampart; there he defended one after another with the bravest of his men and officers, and, assisted by the fire of his people on the inner wall, two or three times brought the head of our flank companies, who were pushing on with their usual ardour, to a stand. The loss here would have been much greater on our part, had not the light infantry, and part of the battalion companies of the 12th regiment, crossing the inner ditch, and mounting the rampart, driven the enemy from thence, and taken in reverse those who, with the Sultan, were defending the traverses of the outer rampart. While any of his troops remained with him, the Sultan continued to dispute the ground, till he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort; here he complained of pain and weakness, in one of his legs, which had been badly wounded when he was very young, and, desiring his mare might be brought, he mounted, and seeing the Europeans still advancing on both ramparts, he made for the gate, followed by his palankeen, and a number of officers, troops, and servants. It was then probably

* See note on section 21 of Book Third.

† A temporary building, booth, or shed; whether plain or adorned.

either his intention to have entered and shut the gate, in order to attack the small body of our troops which had got into the inner fort, and, if unsuccessful in driving these out, to have attempted to maintain it against us, or to endeavour to make his way to the palace, and there make his last stand. But it was the will of Heaven to frustrate these attempts, (as it had done his ambitious plans,) and that he should never again enter his palace alive. As he was crossing to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musket ball in his right side, nearly in a line with the breast; he, however, passed on until he was stopped about half through the arch of the gateway by the fire of the 12th Light Infantry from within, when he received a second ball in the right side, close to the other; the mare he rode being wounded at the same time, sunk under him, and his turban fell on the ground. Many of his people fell about the same time on every side of him, by musketry, from both sides of the gate. The fallen Sultan was immediately raised by some of his faithful adherents, and placed upon his Palankeon under the arch, and on one side of the gateway, where he lay or sat for some moments faint and exhausted until some European soldiers entered the gateway. A servant who has survived relates, that one of the soldiers seized the Sultan's sword-belt, and attempted to pull it off; that the Sultan, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee; on which the soldier put his pike to his shoulder, and shot the Sultan through the temple, who instantly expired. Not less than three hundred men were killed, and numbers wounded, under the arch of this gateway, which soon became impassable except over the bodies of the dead and dying. About dusk, Major-General Baird, in consequence of information he had received at the palace, came with lights to this gate, accompanied by the late killadar of the fort, and others, to search for the body of the Sultan; and after much labour it was found and brought from under a heap of others to the inside of the gate. The countenance was no way distorted, but had an expression of stern composure. The turban, jacket, sword, and belt, were gone; but the body was recognised by several of his people who were there, to be the Padshah, and an officer who was present, with the leave of Major-General Baird, took from off the right arm the talisman,

which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flower silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance, of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in Kani, Arabic, and Persian characters, the purport of which, had there been any doubt, would have fully ascertained the identity of the Sultan's body. It was placed on his own palankeen, and by General Baird's orders conveyed to the court of the palace where it remained during the night; furnishing remarkable instances, to those who are given to reflection, of the uncertainty of human affairs. He who had left the palace in the morning a powerful imperious Sultan, full of vast ambitious projects, was brought back a lump of clay, abandoned by the whole world, his kingdom overthrown, his capital taken, and his palace occupied by the very man, Major-General Baird, † who, about fifteen years before, had been, with other victims of his cruelty and tyranny, released from near four years of rigid confinement, in irons, in a prison scarce three hundred yards from the spot where the corpse of the Sultan now lay.

Thus ended the life and the power of Tippoo Sultan. It will require an able pen to delineate a character apparently so inconsistent; but he who attempts it must not decide hastily. Those who have served in this campaign, victorious and brilliant as it has proved, will however, I believe, agree that the infantry of the Sultan were not inferior to our sepoys; and that, had he been joined three or four months ago by four or five thousand French troops, which he had every reason to expect, the event might have been very different. What infinite credit then is due to the man who planned and saw the fit moment to execute measures which, perhaps, have saved us from ruin!

* "In *Magie*" says Beatson: but this appears to be an error for *Kufic*.

† Major General Baird, when captain of the light infantry of the late 78th Regiment, was severely wounded and taken prisoner on the 10th of September 1780. After being kept in Hyder's camp for five or six weeks, with Colonel Baillie and six other officers, he and three others were sent to Seringapatam and confined in a small Hindu house, subject to every insult the guard chose to offer. The number of prisoners gradually increased to forty-two, or three. The whole were kept in irons and allowed only one fanam (about two pence) each per day, to furnish every article of life. Major General Baird suffered this confinement until the peace of Mangalore in March 1784; a period of three years and six months. (Beatson, *Ibid.*)

THE END.



